NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents

Vol. 2, No. 15 NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY 23, 1950

WE FIGHT
TODAY
FOR A
Better
Tomorrow

To all American progressives

A last ditch appeal to reason

By John T. McManus
General Manager

FOR the last several weeks — from about Thanksgiving Day on, in fact — NATIONAL GUARDIAN has been trying to alert you to a crisis in our affairs, and trying to do it somehow without spreading a general alarm. With schemes, inducements, sly digs and earnest pleas, we have been plugging away at the consciences and pocketbooks of some 75,000 GUARDIAN regulars, and anywhere from 10,000 to 50,000 more each week who have been receiving the paper by short term, trial and gift subscription in the hope that they will sign up and help give us a run for it.

We have been trying to get the point across that the GUARDIAN is heading for the edge of that same, old precipice — disaster — unless we can get a real, wholesale rise out of the readers of this paper — Progressive Party and American Labor Party members, AFL and CIO people who never see a decent word about themselves in print even in their own union papers; peace advocates who find themselves tagged as crackpots, subversives and worse in the commercial press and by their government; and racial, religious and political minorities who are getting their brains kicked out every day in the week by hoodlums wearing the false-faces of democracy.

To all of you — and to those who don't fall into any of these categories but who just want to see both or all sides of the argument covered in the press of this country — here are the facts of the GUARDIAN's crisis:

• We have been operating since last February on a subsidy.

• That subsidy is spent—and there is none to replace it.

• If the readers and potential readers of the GUARDIAN don't come through NOW—we're finished. It's that simple.

• We have a tiny treasury left; we can struggle along for a few weeks while we wait to hear from you.

• If we don't hear from you in sufficient numbers and to a sufficient extent to warrant continuing, we shall have to draw the blinds, take down our shingle, sell the equipment, pay off and call it another Noble Experiment.

That's how it is.

NOW, here is what you can do to prevent this:

• We need what amounts to $5 from every present, paid-up reader.

• We need this in cash—but it would be a hell of a lot better if we got the cash along with a corresponding number of new, sympathetic readers. Five new subscribers along with your $5; or your own renewal and four friends, or any combination you care to figure out will do the trick, just so it adds up to at least $5. We are not nearly as much concerned with making the GUARDIAN an artistic success for a handful of high-paying supporters as we are with getting a good paper cheaply into the hands of hundreds of thousands of people who can well use it week in and week out in the unending argument for peace and progress.

At this point in this appeal, a few thousand of you will already have $5 out and ready to mail. You are probably one of the people already responsible for our present 1500-a-week rate of new readers. You are the salt of the earth. Cheers to you.

BUT if you are one who has not at this point made up your mind to do something, here's what we have to say to you:

This subsidy of ours, which we are asking you to help replace, has not been chucked away on fast women, slow horses or fancy promotion schemes. It has been used to offer people for 2c an issue a paper which now costs us something like 12c an issue. Obviously, we will have to get four or five times as many paying readers as at present to make things come out even. And until we get that many paying readers, we must have the equivalent in operating cash or quit — or raise the price, which is a foolish idea and one we are not considering. A weekly paper trying to win a mass readership should not cost more than $1 a year or 5c an issue tops across the counter.

THE answer as far as we can figure it out—lacking a Peace and Progress Foundation or the like to foot the bill—is in rank and file financing: in your accepting as much of the load as you can handle while the patient process goes on of converting from subsidy to widespread subscriber support at $1 a year.

• Maybe $5 is tough for you to scrape up. On the other hand, maybe you are in the $7,500 a year and up class, and can afford to kick in with $100 or even $1,000 loan.

All you have to decide is how much the future of the one and only national, progressive newsweekly in America is worth to you.

We who believe that peace is not only possible but mandatory must have some means of weekly communication to hold us all together. The only means of such communication which exists in our country today is the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. *I urge every progressive American to give the* GUARDIAN *full support so that it may grow and expand its indispensable services.* **—HENRY A. WALLACE**

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the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAILBAG

Commercialism out

CHICAGO, ILL.

We are enjoying the GUARDIAN very much. It is a pleasure to read news of value, and true—instead of sensationalism supported by cheap commercialism. Keep up the good work!

John R. Humphrey

•

Mutual tolerance

ARDEN, DEL.

Your report to GUARDIAN readers "No Unity Without Mutual Tolerance" in the Jan. 2 issue strikes the keynote of what can and must happen in order to progressively unite the still splintered liberal forces of the U. S. I think of a number of good friends in several parts of the country to whom your message will appeal, and perhaps the best way to get their personal attention would be to mail them marked copies of the GUARDIAN. Enclosed is the money to pay for six extra copies for this purpose.

Edwin S. Potter

•

Never say die

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

My subscription expired some time ago. I was afraid of you and consequently afraid to renew. However I now find myself more afraid of what might happen if the left dies. Here is my buck; I will try to pick up a couple of more subs.

W. G. L.

•

What people think

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The Mailbag is a distinctive feature and I would like to see a whole page if possible, as this is a keen reflection of what readers think on vital issues. Also, the cartoons are a source of delight and thoroughly enjoyable. As a whole the paper helps to dispel much of the confusion served up daily by the commercial press and is a definite and healthy contrast.

Samuel Hirst

•

> "IT is a melancholy truth, that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits, than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle."
>
> **Thomas Jefferson**
>
> *in a letter to John Norvell of Danville, Va., dated June 11, 1807.*

Building the future

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

I like the GUARDIAN for you try to give both sides and constructive articles which are so very important at this time for the producers of wealth. I have been a socialist for over 50 years. . . .

Ralph Howell

•

Who started what

ZEPHYR HILLS, FLA.

Sorry we delayed so long in sending our subscription money. Your card got mislaid. We promise to do better next time. We enjoy the GUARDIAN very much. Keep after that bloodthirsty gang of fascists, and don't let them pull the wool over your eyes by shouting "communism."

There is one point for you to keep in mind: the so-called communists have never started a world war, whereas the fascists have started two world wars. They don't know the meaning of Christianity, as no Christian would wilfully murder innocent men, women and children.

Just a farmer

•

That's a thought

ORLEANS, CALIF.

This is the greatest magazine I have ever read. I am so pleased I wish I could get it every day!

Albert Walzer

•

We won't fall flat

EAST PEPPERELL, MASS.

The GUARDIAN is doing an excellent job. I doubt if any publication in the country is your equal in cartoons, and this is important; a paper must never be dry and dull. The best intentions in the world will fall flat if they are neither interesting nor entertaining. Among your contributors I like especially Max Werner for his logical analyses, always calm and convincing. I also like Jennings Perry for his viewpoints that seem the best in America. I like your editorial policy in regard to the conflict between Yugoslavia and the U. S. S. R. You have been trying to present the facts as fairly as possible.

Al Amery

•

As never before . . .

DEDHAM, MASS.

Enclosed you will find my check in the amount of $2 for which please send me the GUARDIAN for one year.

We need to have the major daily papers print the material found in your weekly paper. May you continue long to serve the public in an increasing way. The kind of help you give is needed as never before.

Norman S. Davis, Minister
Riverdale Congregational Church

•

Correspondence club

ERWIN, TENN.

Once I read somewhere about the correspondence clubs that were formed in New England and Virginia to keep each other informed and to promote the idea of separation from the government of England.

This might be a timely thought for today—to promote the idea of separating Americans from the poison press and cementing them to the GUARDIAN.

In the back of my mind is the fact that today thousands of thoughtful people are corresponding as never before on the various threats to our former liberties, even though the great FBI-ster J. Edgar says in his booklet on "How to Catch a Red" that one of the prime identifications is when a feller WRITES A LOT OF LETTERS. Evidently he has never heard of Flaubert, Victor Hugo, Ben Franklin, Voltaire, etc.

In my own life experience, never did so many people write me and want to be written to. A man in Chicago sends me bushels of books and papers, a woman in Hawaii sends me papers, letters, fresh fruits by airmail. Strangers pound me with letters whenever I publish one and I find myself arguing with strangers about letters I had in a paper.

Ernest Seeman

•

The first five

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

I want to congratulate the staff of the GUARDIAN for their splendid job in bringing their paper to such a high quota on their first year. I propose all those who read the GUARDIAN should get at least five more readers each, not counting the past subs. I'm starting by sending in my first five.

J. M. Jimenez

•

Where the heart is

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I like your lack of restrictions or provinciality. Keep on with your policy of thinking news from everywhere is important and of welcoming anybody whose heart is in the right place—even if he doesn't agree with you about everything.

Les Foxworthy

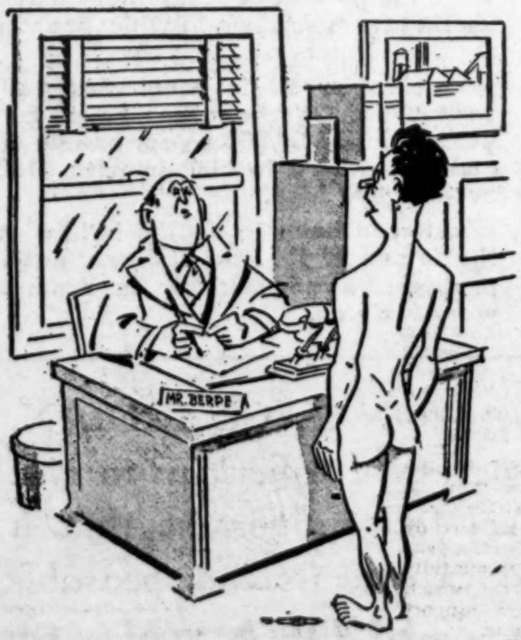
•

We'll pedal hard

BUTTE, MONT.

I do appreciate the GUARDIAN, and pass it on, or mail it to friends. Keep up the good work—fearlessly. Most publications ease into the policy of soft pedaling.

M. Buchanan



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Frankly, sir, I need more money!"

Report to Readers

We need your help to do the job

By James Aronson

I CAN remember many mornings, in the 12 years I worked for the commercial press, how I hated the idea of going into the city room. I can remember how my stomach tied in a knot when I saw how a headline or a story I had written was twisted after it left my hands—to supply the slant I refused to give. I can remember the bull sessions we had after an edition when we used to dream about breaking out and doing something we believed in (but where was there for a newspaperman to go?) I can remember watching decent, even brilliant, newspapermen drink themselves into a sodden mess out of sheer frustration.

life abundant
Civil Rights
U. S. capital goods
foreign policy
JOBS
Social Security
Education
The Trenton case
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE
GUARDIAN

There's none of that at the GUARDIAN. We like our jobs—and not because there has been a regular Friday pay check for a good stretch. We like our jobs because we feel we have made a whopping contribution to the side of decency. Does that sound idealistic? Maybe it does, but we're people with ideals—just like you.

I could tell you about the quiet celebration in the office the day the Trenton Six won a new trial. Nobody said much, but the glow that comes from having fought a good fight together showed through. I could tell you about how we swapped excited stories the Monday morning after the magnificent Peace Conference at the Waldorf-Astoria last year. There was a scramble to see who would write the lead article.

Maybe we'll put the whole story down one day. But we'd like to put that day off for a long time because we'd like to be too busy putting out the GUARDIAN every week. That would be the best excuse we could have. And nobody can give us that excuse except the people reading this.

LET'S talk plain. There just isn't going to be a GUARDIAN to fight for the Trenton Six; to fight for more TVAs; to fight for a fair distribution of wealth in this wealthiest of all lands; to fight for healthy kids and the kind of schools they want to go to—there just isn't going to be a GUARDIAN to fight for these things unless you people get out and do the job of seeing to it that the GUARDIAN stays alive.

We have got to have an avalanche of subs pouring into 17 Murray Street (right now!) that will swamp that cheerful, long-suffering mailman (bless him).

This paper doesn't belong to any one man, three men, or even its staff. Personal possession implies personal gain. Nobody around the GUARDIAN ever made a profit out of it and nobody expects to. This paper belongs to progressive America. We at the GUARDIAN are your agents simply by virtue of being a group of newspaper people who saw that a job had to be done—and set out to do it.

WE want to keep on doing that job. But we can't do it without your help. Will you pitch in? Will you show the cynics and the hate peddlers and the sleazy witch hunters that they cannot silence progress?

Will you forgive us if we thank you in advance? We know that you will stand with us. We know—and you know—that the plain truth is on our side.

For all to read

CLEVELAND, OHIO

I enclose a check for $20 from Mr. Henry Blumberg, 76 E. Blake Av., Columbus, O.

Mr. Blumberg likes your paper very much and would like to see it placed in 20 libraries. Will you please put 20 libraries on your list and advise Mr. Blumberg of your action?

Hugh De Lacy

TO ALL READERS

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN you have in your hand is NOT a regular, typical issue of the paper—it is a highlight "inventory" issue going to more than 400,000 persons.

The GUARDIAN's financial crisis made such a special issue necessary, to draw the attention of all progressives we can reach to what the paper has done—and will do in the future if it survives—for the progressive movement.

Regular issues of the GUARDIAN give you for less than 2c a week (as the present special rate) a carefully written, imaginatively illustrated summary of ALL the week's news it is vital to know.

WAR AND PEACE

Let's look into that pocketbook

The cold war and your future

We know, too, that vast armaments are rising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions. It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment. That it builds no permanent structure and creates no consumers' goods for lasting prosperity... Nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction might be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy like a house of cards will fall apart.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dec. 1, 1936

By Tabitha Petran

TO the daily press, recognition of the People's Republic of China is "appeasement." Trade with east Europe is "treachery." War is "defense." Peace is a "threat."

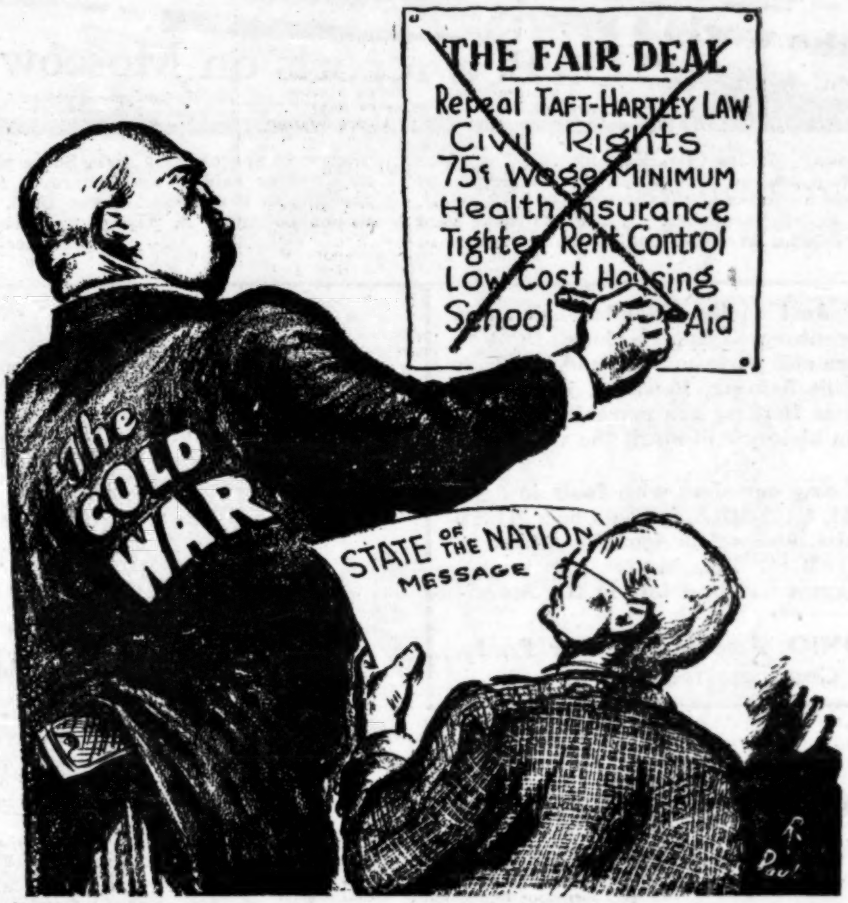
The GUARDIAN reported the cold war differently. It has covered it from your point of view, related it to your jobs, your wages, your economic future.

Here's what the cold war takes from your family pocketbook, adding in the taxes you'll pay for it next year:

- $1,000 in price increases in the period 1947-49.
- $925 in taxes solely for cold war expenditures in the period 1948-51.

Add it up: that's $1,925 on the average from every U.S. family for the cold war alone.

But this $1,925 is in addition to the $1,050 every U.S. family will have paid in taxes in the period 1948-51 for "normal" military expenditures of $10,600,000,000 a year. So, altogether, each U.S. family is paying on the average approximately $3,000 for Truman's cold war and military program.



X marks a prophetic spot

On Jan. 10, 1949, GUARDIAN published this ominously far-sighted cartoon. Of the seven items of legislation rudely canceled out more than a year ago, only one survived to pass Congress—the 75c minimum wage.

Where and why

Where does this cold war tribute really go and why are you paying it?

From the outset the GUARDIAN was adding fact to fact and making a pattern. Back in the spring of '49 the cold war was nailed down in these columns as the instrument of U. S. big business, militarists, the Vatican and British imperialism to block social and democratic reform all over the world. How the cold war's mainspring—big business with its profit drive—mapped a "permanent war" program even during World War II to insure continued super-profits and economic domination after the war's end, was documented on May 2.

In 1947, first full year of the cold war, corporation profits climbed 44% higher than in 1946. Three years of the cold war netted U.S. corporations more than $94,000,000,000 in profits before taxes. (That's billions, not millions!)

WHAT IT DID TO YOU: Week by week the GUARDIAN showed how U.S. foreign policy affected you:

- The Marshall Plan straightjacket on trade intensified economic crisis, bringing unemployment to European and U.S. workers (July 4, 1949). By December 1949, U.S. exports, which the Marshall Plan was designed to boost, had dropped 22% since 1947. Employment directly or indirectly dependent on exports dropped from 4,800,000 in 1947 to 2,900,000—a loss of 1,900,000 jobs.
- The cold war embargo on trade with Russia, eastern Europe and New China alone is costing U.S. workers 3,000,000 jobs. These jobs and stable markets for U.S. business would be assured by credits to these nations of not more than $3,500,000,000 a year (July 11, 1949).
- Cold war taxes and price increases have sharply cut your purchasing power (July 18, 1949). A major cause of the 1949 recession, said UN economists, was U. S. consumers running out of cash to buy goods (Nov. 7, 1949). The 1949 recession further depressed living standards: an average of 5,000,000 workers were unemployed throughout 1949.

This is "prosperity"

- While profits climbed 130% from 1945 to 1948, workers' real wages dropped 15% and the real income of consumers more than 10% (May 2, 1949). On top of this fall in real wages, government and industry with the help of right-wing labor leaders imposed a wage freeze in 1949, as Henry Wallace, in testimony before Congress in the spring of 1948, predicted they would if the cold war continued.
- With its more than $42,000,000,000 budget the Truman Administration was spending no more on social security and the general welfare than Roosevelt did on a $9,000,000,000 budget in 1939—and there are 20,000,000 more people today.
- In 1948, boom year of cold war "prosperity," nearly half of all U.S. families earned less than the government said is necessary to maintain a family decently (Nov. 21, 1949).

Fair Deal dealt out

The widening gap between production capacity and purchasing power is a danger-signal of serious trouble ahead, as the GUARDIAN has frequently warned. The Truman Administration has used cold war spending as a shot in the arm for the economy (Jan. 17, 1949). This spending, while temporarily postponing economic crisis, broadens the critical gap, insuring worse crisis to come (Sept. 19, 1949).

Henry Wallace called the President's cold war program a charter for bankruptcy, warning it would cancel Truman's Fair Deal election promises (Jan. 24, 1949).

SANE ECONOMICS: The Progressive Party and the GUARDIAN have been fighting for an alternative to the bipartisan military and foreign program, which Max Werner's GUARDIAN columns have pointed out can only lead to U. S. military disaster.

Our alternative: an end to the cold war, widely-expanded trade with all sections of the world, substantial wage increases for workers, the bulk of national revenue to be used for public works and better living for Americans.

A Columbia Valley Authority, supporting 1,000,000 workers and farmers and their families in the northwest and building the wealth of the U. S. as TVA has done, would cost around $5,000,000,000 — just about what we spend each year now for the Air Force.

That suppressed report on China: Wallace had Chiang's number in '44

IN 1944 President Roosevelt sent Vice-President Henry A. Wallace to China to advise him on U. S. policy toward Chiang Kai-shek. In the report to the President, Wallace said:

"Chiang sees his authority threatened by economic deterioration, which he does not understand, and by social unrest symbolized in communism, which he thoroughly distrusts; and neither of which he can control by military demands. . . . Chiang, at best, is a short-term investment. It is not believed that he has the intelligence or political strength to run postwar China. The leaders of postwar China will be brought forward by evolution or revolution, and it now seems more likely the latter. . . ."

INTO THE PIGEON-HOLE: After Roosevelt's death, the Wallace report was pigeon-holed. Altogether, $6,000,000,000 of U. S. taxpayers' money was shoveled by the Democratic-Republican cold war coalition into the Chiang regime. But Chiang's corrupt Kuomintang clique was ignominiously chased out of China by the events Wallace had predicted.

By the end of 1949 U. S. policy had degenerated into a political squabble between Democrats and Republicans as to whether Chiang should be further subsidized. But the real stake, GUARDIAN pointed out, was 1,200,000 U. S. jobs. That was the number which would open up if the U. S. started trading with the New China. And trading meant recognition of a government representing 400,000,000 united people in China rather than a clique on Formosa island.

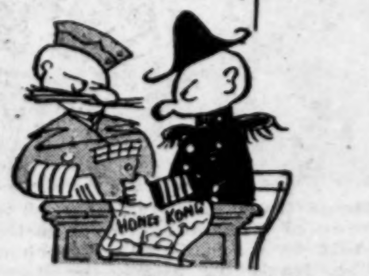
In 1944 Wallace, the leader of progressive America, predicted what would happen in China. Since 1948 the GUARDIAN, the paper for progressive Americans, has shown what has happened in China. On the Oct. 10 founding of the Chinese People's Republic last year, GUARDIAN correspondent Agnes Smedley wrote this:

WHOSE CALAMITY? "To prevent our people from understanding what has happened, the U. S. press and radio and government spokesmen describe the People's Republic as a calamity. If we recognize it, they tell us quite baldly, we will do so only with the intention of destroying it from within. In any case we will only recognize it after it agrees to assume all responsibilities of its predecessor. Its predecessor, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang dictatorship, was a quisling regime that would sign anything for American money."

For U. S. money Chiang gave the U. S. the right to keep troops at Peking. The U. S. built barracks for that purpose; the People's Republic took them back. U. S. reaction was to withdraw all consular representatives from China, protesting to the world that "consular property" had been seized. Thus recognition of China and realization of the 1,200,000 job opportunities have been further put off.

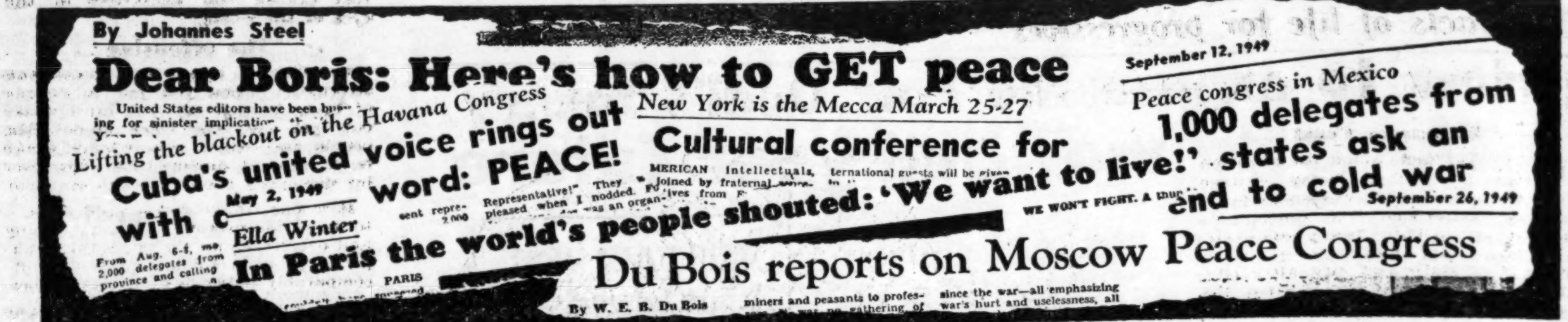
PEOPLE CAN CHANGE IT: In the GUARDIAN's second issue—Nov. 1, 1948—a headline read: "GOP Can't Change Things—Chiang is Already Licked." It took the State Dept. a year to realize it. Now the U. S. is wistfully talking about a "third force" which would be worthy to receive support against the People's Republic.

The GUARDIAN has worked on the principle that the American people will finally work out a foreign policy which is based on facts and therefore makes sense. Such a policy involves knowing the situation in China. Henry Wallace set the pace in 1944; the GUARDIAN has carried on.



Daily Worker, London

"If we're not careful, the whole of China will be occupied by the Chinese."



By Johannes Steel

Dear Boris: Here's how to GET peace

Lifting the blackout on the Havana Congress

Cuba's united voice rings out with one word: PEACE!

May 2, 1949

Ella Winter

New York is the Mecca March 25-27

Cultural conference for

September 12, 1949

Peace congress in Mexico

1,000 delegates from states ask an end to cold war

September 26, 1949

In Paris the world's people shouted: 'We want to live!'

Du Bois reports on Moscow Peace Congress

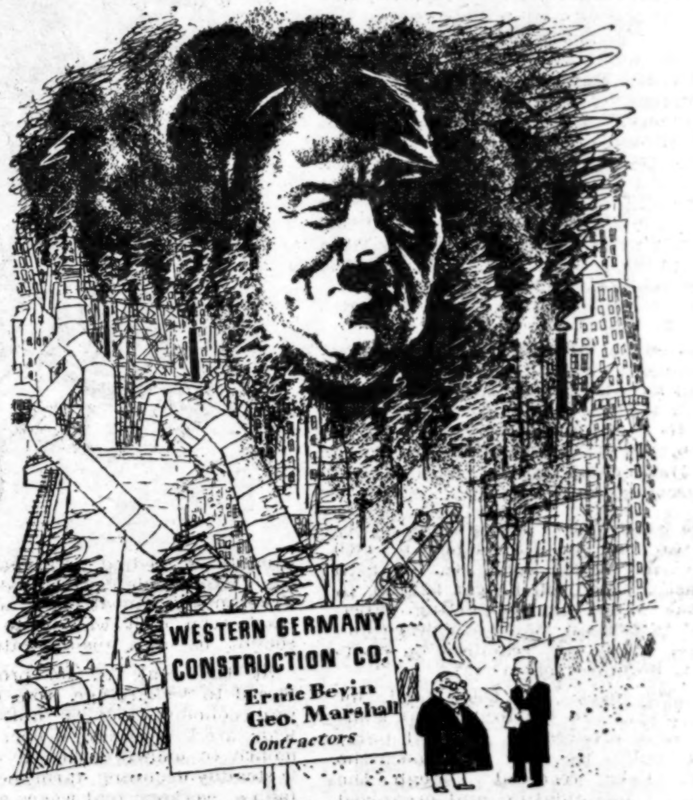
By W. E. B. Du Bois

New York, Paris, Prague, Budapest, Moscow, Mexico City, Havana. . . . The place names sound like an itinerary of a trip around the world. The hundreds of thousands of people who came sound like an index of all the professions—priest, minister, shoemaker, farmer, writer, artist, carpenter. . . . What they said amounted to only one thing: THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE! They said it in prayer, in speech, in action. Some pleaded, others demanded. However they said it, whoever said it and wherever it was said, the GUARDIAN was there and brought to the people of the U. S. a message of peace from the people of the world. Other U. S. papers were there too; their reports were distorted to fit a preconceived pattern of lies.

I SAY that the night is ending. Just as the calendar brings us around the turn of the new half-century, so has the clock of events brought us past midnight. There are still dark hours ahead in which we must do our fighting. We do this fighting, however, in the full knowledge and comforting confidence that we are marching toward the daylight of a new day, which in history will mark the victory of the people.

To speed this victory, we must arm ourselves with facts to fight with. In this respect the NATIONAL GUARDIAN should be a MUST in the hands of every trade unionist, every American Labor Party member, every progressive everywhere. At $1 for 52 weeks, NATIONAL GUARDIAN is the biggest and best buy in the American press today.

—VITO MARCANTONIO, *American Labor Party Representative in Congress from N.Y.*



From the GUARDIAN, Nov. 1, 1948

The deadly parallel

Hitler's ghost walks as the people cry 'Peace!'

By Egon Pohoryles

THE face of Adolf Hitler on the West German horizon has become a lot more distinct since the GUARDIAN first pictured it in the Ruhr factory-chimney smoke on Nov. 1, 1948—together with the story, then published almost nowhere else, of how the breaking-up of German industrial cartels was sabotaged.

Week by week the parallel has been drawn in these columns with the post-World War I creation of Hitler fascism by U.S., British and German cartel partners. For the second time in a generation representatives of the same U.S. money clique who helped build the Hitler monster are being allowed to replace fascism's foundation stone—the German industrial monopolies.

Latest development is the announcement that West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has been consulting with the Bruederschaft—the fraternity of Hitler's old generals. They decided that Germany's "minimum requirements" are an infantry division by next June and an armored corps by 1951. With over 1,500,000 unemployed, the biggest surplus steel production and the lowest industrial wage scale in Europe, West Germany is again awaiting a Fuehrer to make use of the surplus in men and production.

HOW IT WAS SETTLED: In November 1948, the U.S. was in the midst of the now almost-forgotten "Berlin crisis." While newspapers screamed about the imminence of war, this was a GUARDIAN headline: "John Foster Dulles admits: 'We could settle Berlin any time.'" Other papers knew of Dulles' admission; none reported it.

The U.S. did settle Berlin when it got ready—but then proceeded to introduce a separate Western currency, establish a separate West German state and give the green light for a West German army—all in violation of the U.S.-British-Soviet agreement at Potsdam and of what used to be known as sanity.

THEY REPRESENT YOU: Since Berlin, the GUARDIAN has shown that developments in Germany are the inevitable result of a U.S. foreign policy controlled by big business. Of the men now predominant in molding U.S. policy in Germany, these were revealed by the GUARDIAN to be tied to German business by financial considerations:

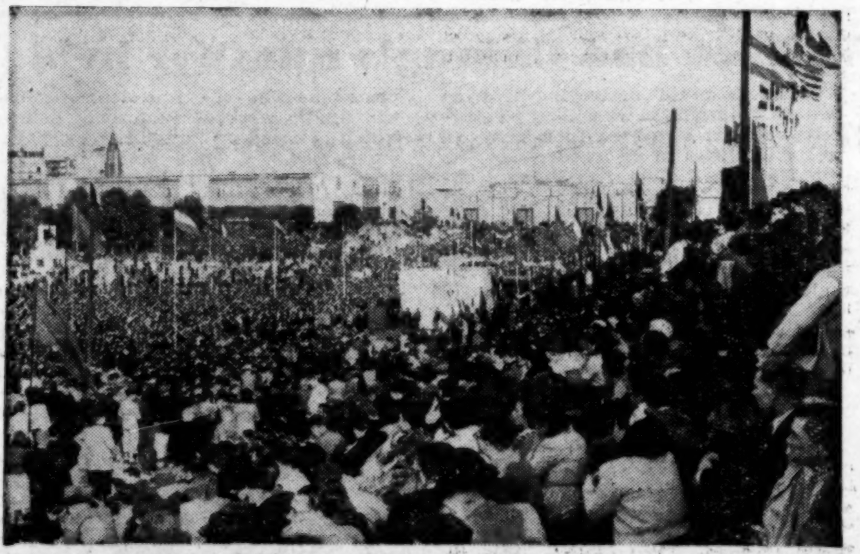
- **Charles Wilson,** president of General Motors which owns Germany's biggest auto works. Wilson headed a group of U.S. businessmen on an Economic Cooperation Administration mission which got Gen. Clay to take the first step in lifting the ban on foreign investments in Western Germany, later sparked the drive to end dismantling of factories. The GUARDIAN said then it would turn the Ruhr into an Atlantic Pact arsenal.
- **John J. McCloy,** U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, whose law firm represented I. G. Farben, Germany's biggest cartel.
- **Louis Johnson,** U.S. Secretary of Defense, whose business is closely allied with the Schroeder banking group, one of Hitler's chief financial supporters.
- **Paul Nitze,** one of the chief architects of the Marshall Plan, the State Dept.'s new policy chief, and formerly head of Dillon Read, which shared heavily in 80% of the $2,000,000,000 borrowed by the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis.

Three of eight Germans appointed by the Anglo-Americans to administer the Ruhr helped Hitler gain power. Of five U.S. "advisers," four are connected with U.S. Steel, one with Inland Steel.

CRY OF THE PEOPLE: In the name of "democracy" these profit-hungry men are unleashing ths same forces it took six years of war to smash.

What the U.S. could do for Germany was expressed early last year by Emil Carlebach, Nazi concentration camp victim and GUARDIAN correspondent in West Germany. Carlebach wrote:

"Peace, peace, and once again peace—that is the need of our German people. . . . If the millions (of Americans) who voted against Dewey will support us in our efforts toward an understanding among the big powers, then we in Europe will realize what we have been hoping for since the conclusion of the covenants between Roosevelt and Stalin—peace and anti-fascist democracy."



Three times in 80 years French men and women like these have felt the brute force of German aggression in their land. The last time it was a German army built by U. S., British, French and German financiers to fight the Russians. The Nazis did attack the Russians—but first they rolled over France and occupied it for four bloody years. That is why these French people in Paris got together last year to stop this calculated madness from happening again. They called it a "Vote for Peace." More than 1,000,000 peace ballots were cast in the Paris area alone. Others voted in cities, towns and villages throughout France.

●

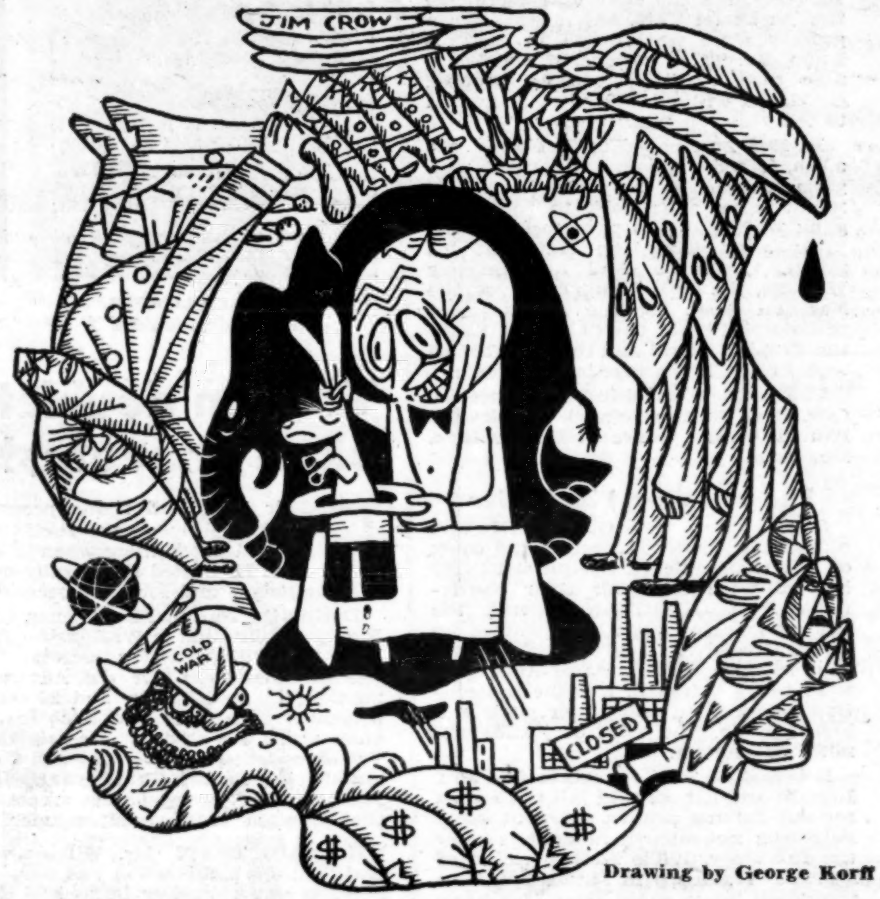
It's O.K. to send greenbacks in the mail. Don't postpone paying your bill or entering new subscriptions because you don't have a check or postal note handy. Fold a buck (or five) in an envelope and mail it today.

THE POLITICAL SCENE

The facts of life for progressives

How to expose the Fair Deal's fakery

By Barney Conal



Drawing by George Korff

TWO pivotal facts about the situation progressives face today emerge from the GUARDIAN's political reporting since November, 1948. Unless progressives grasp these firmly and document them for America's voters, in state after state and city after city, they might as well retire from the political scene.

The core of one of these facts was complacently revealed by President Truman himself in his January 6 Report on the Economy:

"It is estimated," he said, "that about one-third of all families [i.e., about 50 million Americans] did not add to their savings [in 1949] but instead spent more than they earned."

The other fact is that the dominant element in the post-FDR Democratic Party is as reactionary as the Republican Party; its end objectives not one whit different—the perpetuation of the profiteer economy in the U.S. even if it means war.

WITH OR WITHOUT: For GUARDIAN readers these facts are being spelled out, chapter and verse, week after week.

Without that chapter and verse, progressives are howling into the war-winds of America.

With it, annotated and illustrated for precinct, ward and Congressional District in state after state, the shoddy political goods the Democrats are peddling to the American people can be torn to shreds—and progressives can build their party into a powerful and ever-growing force.

400,000 READERS: When Eugene Debs first ran for the Presidency in 1900 he received 96,000 votes. In his fifth and last try in 1920 he got 921,000. In its peak years his supporting paper, **Appeal to Reason**, had an average circulation of 400,000, reaching on occasions a million (see p. 12).

In 1948 over 1,100,000 voted for Henry Wallace in his first try at leading a new progressive political party to the polls. He had ten times the support Debs received, though the barrage of intimidation and organized lies was ten times more powerful. The new-born GUARDIAN's circulation was 5,000. Wallace had no other supporting national paper.

The enemy is weaker

Granting the considerably larger electorate of today, the need for a progressive party is ten times greater. In Debs' day "free enterprise" in America was still young, its home markets still plentiful. Today it is almost a closed corporation, its arteries hardened, its lungs spitting blood. Then it was capable of feeding and sustaining the American people if it wanted to. Today, Truman has unwittingly admitted, it can't even if it wanted to—unless it sought its own disintegration.

At the peak of its profits, it is forced to seek refuge from peace in a war-economy: still 50 million Americans are sinking into deeper debt from month to month, business investment is steadily declining, farm income keeps falling, workers' real wages are shrinking, unemployment keeps rising.

CAVES VS. ABUNDANCE: What then are the realities the old parties, poliical henchmen of the corporations, hold out for the majority of the American people? Atomic war; cave factories; uprooted cities; radioactive gases; a police state. The man in the street knows it. He's only afraid to admit it, even to himself.

A poll taken recently by one of the most responsible (though conservative) institutes showed 75% of Americans opposed to socialism as they knew of it; but between 60% and 80% of those opposed favored **specific** measures they considered socialistic when the measures themselves were spelled out for them by the poll takers.

Progressives should realize by now that it is not enough for them to claim they are for peace and the people's welfare, for civil liberties and for housing, for decent wages and the curbing of monopoly. Almost all of this is being said to America's obviously leftward-moving voters by the Democrats and their ADAers, and even by more and more Republicans, who are as ready and even readier with their bills of liberal-sounding particulars.

Their infinitely superior fire-power and the weight of their economic armaments are being used primarily to isolate the Progressive Party, dissipate its energies, force it to go on the defensive. Their minimum strategy is to jam out the Progressives' **positive** program and make them seem ineffectual cranks and backbiters in the eyes of the public.

The offensive

In politics as in war there is only one alternative when you are in danger of being bottled up. You must strike out, get into the clear among the people and attack your enemy where he is weakest among them, wherever his demagogy shows through **to them.**

It is one thing—and a good thing—to have an overall program capping and over-reaching the opposition's, superior to it in fundamentals and incomparably richer in its human values.

It is another to attempt to slog your way with it through the enemy's deep programmatic entrenchments in what, today, would be a quixotic sortie into a reactionary bog, studded with liberal mirages.

LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE: Progressives at this juncture have the job of winning a hearing from those who need their economic, welfare and peace programs most—50 million Americans, at the least, in Truman's own estimate.

They can win that hearing only by first listening to what the "lower third" of America has to tell them about the problems they consider most important, and then moving **with** them to the solutions. They have to make these Americans their leadership wherever they still are not—in the precinct, the ward, the district, the state, the nation. That way they can build a powerful party. Any other way, they won't, ever.

THE TOOL: Let the slogans, the long speeches, the sloppy generalities, the endless mass meetings and demonstrations, so much of which is self-expression, take a little rest. They are not absolutely essential. More often than not they are distracting and disorganizing substitutes for the real thing, welcomed by the ingrown sectarian and unreal to the uninitiated.

Progressives have a much tougher, more demanding, creative and effective job to do in spelling out their answers in the precincts and wards of the country in terms established not by them but by those they seek to lead.

For this job we offer you one key tool—the NATIONAL GUARDIAN in a million homes, if you'll place it in them.

We offer you its pages to spell out your answers to the people who need them in your home town.

The parties start sprucing up for the spring primaries — and after

IN state after state, competing candidates are announcing, party machines and strategy committees are conferencing in advance of the primaries, the earliest of which will take place in Illinois on April 11.

Within the Democratic Party a major fission occurred last week, when James F. Byrnes, former "Assistant President of the U. S.," Supreme Court Justice, Secretary of State and Democrats' sanctified Elder Statesman, roared his return to active politics. Behind Byrnes' announcement that he would run for Governor of South Carolina as a States' Righter was a rallying call to all southern Democrats; a declaration of war against the Truman Administration and policies; a signal flare to the South's embattled and patronage-starved Republican allies.

The call promised to raise Dixiecratism to a new respectable status. To Dixiecrats and Republicans it held out the realization of a new national electoral alignment, topping the already established and effective congressional coalition between states' righters, budget-balancers and economizers in both old parties.

DOUBLE TALK: The Democratic high command's fear of this new southern brew was to be brought to public attention on January 28, when a "'harmony" meeting between the Administration and all southern congressmen and national committeemen is scheduled in Raleigh, N. C.

The meeting was a clear guarantee that nothing would happen in Congress in the foreseeable future on the Fair Employment Practices Bill. While President Truman promised action on Civil Rights to the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization on Jan. 17, he knew the "harmony" feast was being prepared with the very Democrats he was urging the Negro people and their allies to pressure (GUARDIAN, Jan. 9).

Hopeful Republicans

Meanwhile Republican leaders emerged from a policy meeting with the announcement that they were still wrangling about the formulation of a set of principles, but that the party would pick up seven Senate seats in 1950. It would thus, they prophesied, become once more the majority party in the upper house by one vote.

States marked for Republican gains were Connecticut (2 seats), Pennsylvania, Illinois, Idaho, California, Utah and Washington. The Democrats said they would gain another five Senate seats but did not specify the states.

JUST PEOPLE: The pawns in this political chess game were people who still had voices of their own. From them came news, squelched in most of the press (exception: the GUARDIAN), that a resurgent Progressive Party is springing to new life across the country in over a score of states.

On Feb. 24 delegates will converge on Chicago's Stevens Hotel from all States in the Union for the Progressive Party's annual convention. Many state Progressive Parties will hold their conventions beforehand; some have already held them. Ohio, where the Democrats seem deliberately immobilized against Taft's bid for re-election, held its State Progressive Party convention in Cleveland on Jan. 21 and 22.

THE FREED

The GUARDIAN'S role

An advocate in the court of last resort: the people

By Elmer Bendiner

BEFORE he went to prison Eugene V. Debs said: "Great issues are not decided by courts, but by the people. I have no concern in what the coterie of begowned corporation lawyers in Washington may decide in my case. The court of final resort is the people, and that court will be heard from in due time . . ."

For a year and a half the GUARDIAN has been an advocate in that court, pleading for reversals of police courts, magistrates' courts, supreme courts and legislatures. Along with other advocates it has marshaled the facts. In many cases that was all that was necessary. The public handed down their verdicts and executed them swiftly and surely. They did not storm the court house or the city hall. But they listened, they signed petitions, they so changed the climate of opinion that no judge could withstand it.

Victories

Here are some cases out of GUARDIAN's file in which the people ruled.

Six men faced certain death in a Trenton, N. J., prison in 1948; the fight for them was forlorn when GUARDIAN was born. GUARDIAN argued their case. They are still alive.

In Peekskill, N. Y., men in veterans' uniforms stoned cars and buses and laid siege to men and women who had gathered to hear Paul Robeson sing. They waged bloody war in the name of an anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-communist crusade.

Few papers carried the true story to the country. The GUARDIAN was one. It gave eye-witness accounts by plain men and women who saw, suffered and were outraged by Peekskill.

The nation woke up. Paul Robeson sang in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. There were threats and incitements by press, radio and public officials—but on that tour there were no more Peekskills.

LIBERTY: Aroused, informed electorates turned back the Ober Law in Maryland, the Feinberg Law in New York; the Tumulty-Mehorter Laws in New Jersey.

LIFE: There were important victories that saved a life here and there like that of Lester Tate. Seven years ago a grocery store was robbed in Princess Anne, Va. Tate was one of five Negro men arrested, tried without counsel, convicted without evidence, sentenced to ten years on a chain gang.

In 1943 he escaped to California, got a job, joined a union. Last August, Virginia demanded his extradition. He might have gone back to the chain gang with only two paragraphs in the press announcing the fact. But his union, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the Civil Rights Congress, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the California **Eagle**, the **People's World** and the GUARDIAN took Lester Tate's case to the people.

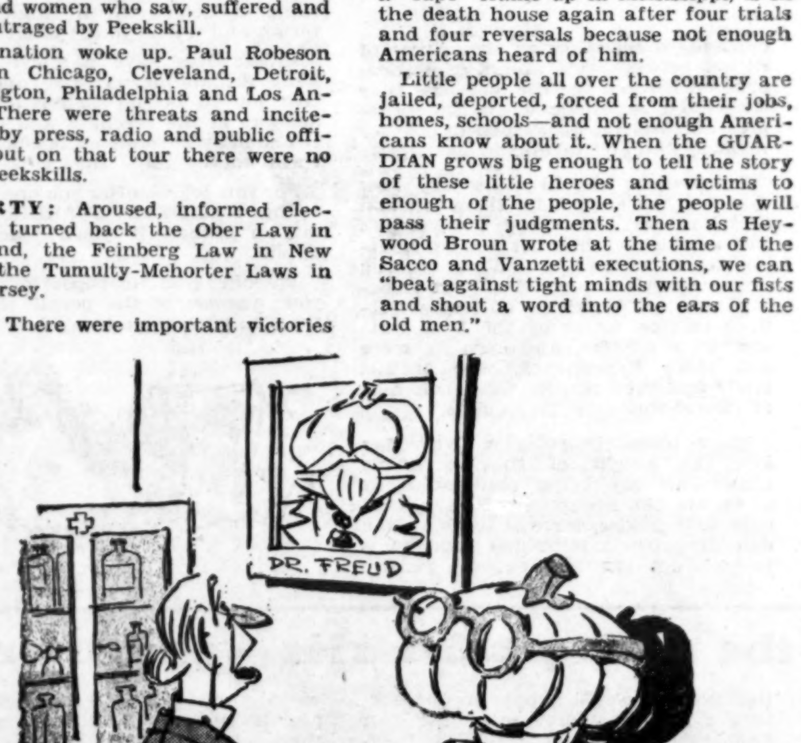
The people pitched in for his defense. Gov. Earl Warren refused to extradite him. Tate still works in California, a free man.

The voice must be louder

Some cases the GUARDIAN and others argued in vain before the court of last resort. Eleven Communist Party leaders were tried for their convictions. The GUARDIAN covered the trial in weekly dispatches, summed up the conclusions of lawyers; pointed out that fundamental rights of Americans were being betrayed. But the prosecution called upon the bigger press and louder radio. The voice of justice was not loud enough.

It is not yet loud enough to free Mrs. Ingram and her sons, in jail in Georgia for self-defense against a violent white neighbor: not enough Americans know the full story. Willie McGee, victim of a "rape" frame-up in Mississippi, is in the death house again after four trials and four reversals because not enough Americans heard of him.

Little people all over the country are jailed, deported, forced from their jobs, homes, schools—and not enough Americans know about it. When the GUARDIAN grows big enough to tell the story of these little heroes and victims to enough of the people, the people will pass their judgments. Then as Heywood Broun wrote at the time of the Sacco and Vanzetti executions, we can "beat against tight minds with our fists and shout a word into the ears of the old men."



GUARDIAN, Dec. 13, 1948

"Everywhere I go I see pumpkins, Doc."

EUNICE CALDWELL
Loyal to her beliefs

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
Ten against the bigots

O. JOHN ROGG
Rights are his busi

Truman doubletalks on civil rights, plans a lovefest with Dixiecrats

THE Fair Deal civil rights program gleamed brightly on the shelf. The President had put it there when it was brand new. He dusted it carefully during campaigns and for state occasions.

During the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington Jan. 17, Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and 26 other delegates visited the President to inquire about the program. He said that Vice-President Alben Barkley and Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas (D-Ill.) had told him they would get a vote on that program "if it took all summer."

WHO SAID THAT? Mr. Wilkins was gratified; the mobilization was startled. For this was what Sen. Lucas had told the mobilization: that the chances for civil rights legislation looked dim because a "majority of Republican members of the Senate joined hands with Southern Democrats to . . . permit the filibuster of 1949 to continue . . . I cannot predict at this time that we will win . . . we will carry the case to the people again in the 1950 campaign."

And here was Truman making Lucas sound like Vito Marcantonio.

Carl Levin of the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** said many Democrats "thought the President had misunderstood whatever Sen. Lucas or Mr. Barkley might have said about their plans for a civil rights fight in this session."

Sen. Lucas said: "No comment."

LET'S HARMONIZE: Before the President reassured Mr. Wilkins and his colleagues about the fight he would put up for civil liberties, he had been briefing Vice-President Barkley for a 4-day meeting at Raleigh, N. C., Jan. 24. The announced purpose was to develop "harmony" between the Truman Democrats and the Dixiecrat Democrats. In other years such harmony had been won by a compromise whereby the civil rights program was polished like a venerable heirloom, but never used.

THE PATTERN: The mobilization ended on the trumpet call of the President's fighting promise, the off-key anti-climax of his lieutenant's "no comment." But official utterances did not adequately sum up the mobilization's meaning. It brought many voices together (more diverse than its leaders planned), all saying one thing: there is oppression in this country—and it must be fought.

It is impossible to chronicle all the violations, take the toll of all the dead, the dispossessed, the disfranchised; or to post all the victories. But this is the pattern the GUARDIAN has drawn.

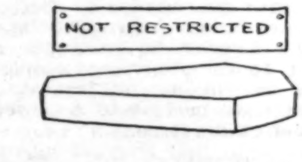
THE SOUTH

Tell the world

"THERE'S no law in Georgia for a black man. And the world don't know . . . Even if it takes my life I want the world to know."

That is what Mrs. Amy Mallard told the GUARDIAN by telephone from Savannah, Ga., the day after a jury acquitted the white man she saw take part in the murder of her husband.

The GUARDIAN told her story and the story of many other heroes, heroines, and plain bewildered victims.



There was the story of Mrs. Rosa Ingram and her sons still in prison but spared the death penalty. They defended themselves against the assault of a white man.

ATTACK: Mrs. Alice Daniels was cheated out of her share of the crop and driven from her farm in North Carolina by her landlord because she wanted to send some money to help free her son and his cousin. They had been beaten into confessing a crime they did not commit: the murder of a taxi-driver. The GUARDIAN gave more space to the Daniels case than all the newspapers of North Carolina combined.

Persecution took many forms: the jailing of men and women who dared to play together on a Baltimore, Md., tennis court (some were Negro, some white); the attack of whites on Negroes who dared to use a public swimming pool in St. Louis, Mo.; the bombing of Negroes who dared move into a white zone in Birmingham, Ala.; the terror that raged in Groveland, Fla. The GUARDIAN was among the few to note that the terror coincided with wage demands of Negro workers.

RESIST: Resistance in the South took shape. Negroes flocked to the polls in greater numbers than at any time since Reconstruction. Negroes in tobacco fields, mills and mines stuck to their unions. Maurice Travis, secretary of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, told the GUARDIAN that Negroes in the South were the backbone of his union. Negroes were not frightened though some assailed them as black, others as red.

THE NORTH

Fight is everywhere

LAST July an anti-Negro mob, incited by white-supremacy property owners, attacked the home of Roscoe Johnson in Chicago. In August and September anti-Negro, anti-Semitic mobs attacked Paul Robeson's audiences at Peekskill, N. Y. In November Chicago's south side erupted again with mob vi-

EDOMS

ROGGE
s business

JAMES MONTGOMERY
Injustice, not adversity

CLAUDE WILLIAMS
A faith that liberates

olence, aimed at two Jews who had entertained Negroes in their home.

Across the northern states, resistance movements consolidated to fight the continuing assaults on individual and group liberties. Peekskill had angered and frightened the U. S., but state officials merely harassed the victims. A sinister outgrowth of Chicago's horror was the White Circle League, revealed by GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren as a fascist outfit that proposed to drive all Negroes from the city.

SMASHING THE BARRIER: To outright terror practised by mobs and police against Negroes and other minorities was added discrimination in housing. But a union organizer broke through the lily-white barriers of N. Y's Stuyvesant Town by inviting a Negro family to live in his apartment as guests. Neighbors welcomed the newcomers. And Chicago's Mayor Kennelly was surprised to find Negroes moving into an "all-white" project.

To Terry Lee Sims, James Montgomery, Eunice Caldwell and James Rancher, the North was hardly a haven of freedom; all were subjects of GUARDIAN reports of progressive resistance to injustice against Negroes.

THE THINGS THAT HAPPEN: Labor and Progressive Party supporters fought in Iowa to clear Sims of a rape frame-up which sent him to prison for 40 years. Illinois was forced to free Montgomery, who had spent 26 years in prison for a rape never committed. Minnesota progressives united to aid Mrs. Caldwell, fired from a U. S. job for having belonged to the National Negro Congress. People in Wisconsin acted when the state refused to sell Rancher insurance, citing "high mortality" among Negroes.

THOUGHT CONTROL

Spreading cancer

NOW the House Un-American Activities Committee is to investigate communism in Hawaii. Everywhere U. S., state and city employes wonder fearfully whether they are labeled "security risks." Labor leaders, scientists, teachers, churchmen, mailmen shudder at the word "loyalty."

To the American Civil Liberties Union, "1949 witnessed an unprecedented array of barriers to free association, of forced declarations of loyalty, of blacklists and purges, and, most menacing to the spirit of liberty, of taboos on those progressive programs and principles which are the heart of any expanding democracy."

GUARDIAN's files trace the spreading thought-control cancer from Truman's loyalty purge and the House Committee's inquisitions through state and municipal aping of their techniques. To the Hollywood Ten it is some consolation that J. Parnell Thomas is in prison—but his methods live on.

IS GOD UN-AMERICAN? One of those victimized by witch-hunters was Claude Williams, whose Institute of Applied Religion practices the gospel of humanity among southern workers and farmers. As an answer to the House Committee, the GUARDIAN told serially the true story of preacher Williams.

Men of other faiths found political persecution un-Christian as well as unconstitutional—and said so, in or through the GUARDIAN. One was Father Clarence Duffy, militant priest who fought with the Progressive Party for a program of decency. Others were the Episcopalian Melishes, father and son, whose Brooklyn preachments for peace carried them into the battle.

Covering vital religious news regularly, the GUARDIAN gave special emphasis to the peace proposals put forward by U. S. Quakers, Methodists, Unitarians and Baptists.

THE TRIALS

Who's the defendant?

THE U.S. government's witchhunt in the courts seemed more deadly than the violence of mobs.

But in each of four cases on which the government based its witchhunt, the government found itself on trial.

The 11 leaders of the Communist Party were tried and convicted. But the government was charged by the defense with these offenses: employing a jury system that discriminated against the poor, the radical, the Negro and the Jew; using spies in labor organizations and elsewhere; attempting to jail men not for their acts but for their thoughts.

TAPS: Judith Coplon, Dept. of Justice employe, and Valentin Gubitchev, a Soviet diplomat, were prosecuted for the theft of state documents and espionage. But the government was charged with: tapping the telephones of citizens and foreign diplomats; planting evidence; using the personal life of a defendant to convict her.

Alger Hiss stood trial a second time. Again the government rested its entire case on the testimony of Whittaker Chambers, a confessed liar whom a psychiatrist described as a "psychopathic personality."

Harry Bridges, militant, successful leader of west coast longshoremen, was tried for perjury in a third effort to deport him to Australia. The government was proved guilty of employing not only labor spies but confessed perjurers as its witnesses.

COMMON SENSE: The big press told the story as if only Hiss, Coplon, Bridges and the Communist Party leaders were on trial. The GUARDIAN took the position, as stated editorially after the Communist leaders were indicted (Jan. 24, 1949): "It is the common sense of America that is on trial."

The Trenton Six

One voice was not still in the blanket of silence

IN October, 1948, six men sat in the New Jersey State Prison death house. They were alone, unknown to the world, hopeless. A few friends and relatives tramped the rounds of state officials, judges, even the FBI, pleading for justice. They met with some pity but, for the most part, silence.

Then a free-lance writer named William A. Reuben telephoned the newborn GUARDIAN one day, told about a Trenton murder trial, forced confessions, railroaded convictions of six Negroes by an all-white jury. Nobody knew Reuben, but he was told to bring in the facts. He did. They were checked. GUARDIAN's second issue unfolded the "Northern Scottsboro" case.

END OF A SILENCE: Elderly William Horner had been murdered in his Trenton furniture shop. Lacking clues, needing scapegoats to quiet a "police shakeup" hullabaloo, police had arrested six Negroes—Collis English, McKinley Forrest, John McKenzie, Ralph Cooper, James Thorpe and Horace Wilson. The "evidence" was forced confessions, repudiated in court. State-appointed defense lawyers weren't convincing enough. All six were convicted.

For a few weeks there had been local efforts—particularly by Bessie Mitchell, Collis English's sister—to get help. The **Daily Worker's** Jersey edition had reported the case. On Oct. 25, 1948, GUARDIAN's full expose, nationally circulated, ripped the shroud of silence from the Trenton Six.

The response grew in volume and came from many quarters. The Civil Rights Congress sparked the defense. O. John Rogge, former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, joined it. Progressives were aroused, from Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit to London, Paris and Johannesburg. Trenton Six rallies were held in many cities. British and French newspapers questioned "Jersey justice."

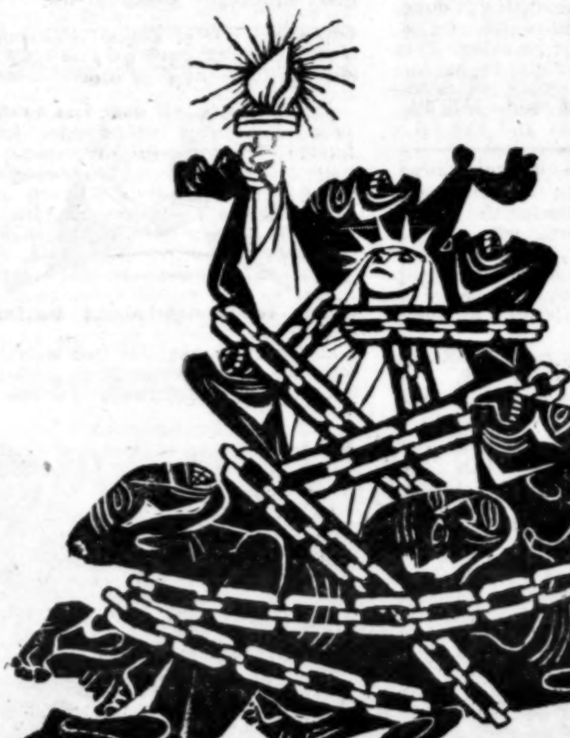
PEOPLE vs. THE PRESS: All but a handful of U.S. papers were silent. A few printed scant reports, mostly sneering at "Communist interference." Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said the United Nations should leave the case to the "very reliable judges."

The GUARDIAN and its supporters pounded week after week at the Trenton case. The trial record was exposed, its errors, contradictions and omissions revealed. In special articles Rogge reported on the fight for a new trial. Jersey judges complained about the "ethics" of protest demonstrations, publicly feared the effects of worldwide anger on Jersey's reputation. But little by little, Jersey and the U.S. were forced to yield, to talk about the Trenton Six.

THE DEFEAT OF SILENCE: Then came victory. A higher court reversed the convictions, ordered a new trial. Six men in a death house breathed again. People everywhere knew that a "legal" lynching could be stopped.

Today the CRC lawyers, Rogge, William Patterson and Emanuel Block, are fighting Jersey's attempt to bar them from the new trial. But the spotlight is on Trenton, N.J., and all the Trentons. As the GUARDIAN said of the Trenton Six on March 7, 1949:

"All the great power of silence of the American press is not prevailing."



It reads like a cross-section of the country

Each morning mail brings to the GUARDIAN releases from organizations devoted to the cause of justice for the people. They give details—which most papers never bother to publish—of the fight all over for peace and decency.

The GUARDIAN checks the facts carefully, then carries the messages of these organizations to the limit of its 12 pages.

A collection of the letterheads on these releases reads like a cross-section of the country: The Methodists Committee on World Peace, the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Asociacion Nacional Mexicana-Americana, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, the People's Institute of Applied Religion, the Tribal Council of the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, the New York Tenants and Consumers League, the Civil Rights Congress, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People—and many more, not to mention the dozens of organizations concerned with righting the wrongs done in America's name to peoples of other lands.

Wherever there's a fight in a good cause, the GUARDIAN wants to know.

FARM & CONSUMER

The biggest story to be told

The abundant life for all of America

By Lawrence Emery

THE age of abundance is here. In the U.S. of 1950, for the first time anywhere in all the world's history, it is possible to produce more than enough of everything for everybody.

Yet many in the nation don't have enough of anything.

For the GUARDIAN this grotesque contradiction is a continuing story. Week after week it documents it, and describes the efforts of the people to cope with it—efforts to achieve plenty in a land of plenty.

ROOTS OF THE TROUBLE: The story begins with the farmer, the man who feeds us all. From Vol. 1, No. 1, the GUARDIAN has been on the side of the small, family-sized farmer; what happens to him happens to everybody.

Most U.S. depressions are farm-bred. When the farmer goes broke the factories shut down. For three years now U.S. farm income has been slipping; in 1949 it was off $3,000,000,000, and it is expected to decline by another $2,500,000,000 in 1950 unless something is done.

Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan has raised the warning. This year, he reports, "is likely to be the first year of less-than-parity prices for farmers since 1941. This forecast is another demonstration that farm prices are the most vulnerable spot in the nation's economic armor. The trend in farm prices is showing again that they go down first and go down fastest. . . . Farmers' losses in income could touch off the chain reaction of unemployment in cities and towns. The question of adequate safeguards for farm income runs far beyond farmers themselves. It involves the fortunes of all the people."

> "WE believe that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who developed them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of the people."
>
> **From Vol. 1, No. 1, NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Oct. 18, 1948.**

The plan for good things

GUARDIAN headlines have told the story from the start:

Food Prices Down, But the Cost of Living Is Still Sky High—Why? (Oct. 18, 1948).

'Prosperity' Is Worrying the Nation's Little Farmers (Nov. 15, 1948).

The Facts About Parity—Is the Farmer Profiteering? (Dec. 6, 1948).

Take Note of the Farmers—They're Sick of the Back Seat, by Elmer A. Benson (Dec. 13, 1948).

Small Farmers Are Worried About Nose Dive, by Charles J. Coe (Jan. 3, 1949).

Straight through the full year the GUARDIAN pounded on the theme of full parity for the farmer. In May it was the first U.S. newspaper of national circulation to back the Brannan Plan; has plugged it consistently ever since, and will continue to plug it and all other good things for the farmer—good things like telephones, bath tubs, electric lights, refrigerators, better roads, good education, good homes.

GETTING TOGETHER: Through the summer of '49 and on the GUARDIAN looked for — and found — heartening things to report about farmer-labor unity.

In the Midwest the two were getting together. A seven-state conference founded the Midwest Farmer-Labor Alliance; the CIO United Packinghouse Workers sent teams of unionists to all county fairs to talk things over with the farmers; joint union-farmer meetings were held in scores of towns and hamlets, and at crossroads (GUARDIAN, Oct. 3, 1949).

When 4,000 Coeur d'Alene, Ida., miners and smeltermen went on strike, farmers in half a dozen states sent them food and kept them well-fed for the duration of the walkout (GUARDIAN, Oct. 3, 1949).

Elsewhere on this page the GUARDIAN tells of another movement which it hopes will spread: direct selling from farmer to factory worker through cooperatives and unions.

The biggest story of all

Part of the picture of abundance for all is the wealth of the nation's natural resources, its water and its soil, its forests, its grasslands, its minerals and its oil.

To the GUARDIAN the story of this natural wealth is the most exciting that can be told. In its short life it has told some of the story; with time it will tell it all. It has described the blessings of TVA to millions (Jennings Perry, Aug. 1 and Dec. 12, 1949, Jan. 2, 1950). It has described the good life that would come to millions with development of the St. Lawrence River project (Jan. 16, 1950).

It has opposed the grab of tidewater oil deposits by private companies working through state legislatures (Oct. 17, 1949). It has fought the award of a public power project in California's Central Valley Project to a private utility company. (Nov. 21, 1949). It has described some of the ambitious projects planned and under way to tame the rivers and water the land of the dry but fertile West.

THINGS TO COME: Still to be told in the GUARDIAN's pages are the stories of the good things that would come to millions of good people with the full development of power and irrigation projects on the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; other projects like the Passamaquoddy power plant in Maine; a return route for Mississippi River traffic through canals connecting with the Tombigbee River; reforestation plans; conservation and reclamation of the soil; the full regional development of all the vast riches of the U.S.

With time — and your help — the GUARDIAN will go on to show how the good life, the abundant life, can be enjoyed by all.

> "CULTIVATORS of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests, by the most lasting bonds."
>
> **Thomas Jefferson, 1786.**

Progressive hens

Gougers: go lay an egg!

LAST September the GUARDIAN told how California apple-growers beat the pinch when canneries and processors knocked the bottom out of their markets—they loaded their trucks and set up shop in front of plant gates for direct farmer-consumer selling.

Industrial workers got fancy fruit for 4c a pound. Farmers averaged $80 a ton and sold 70 tons in ten days. Canneries had offered $20 a ton, other processors as little as $6 a ton.

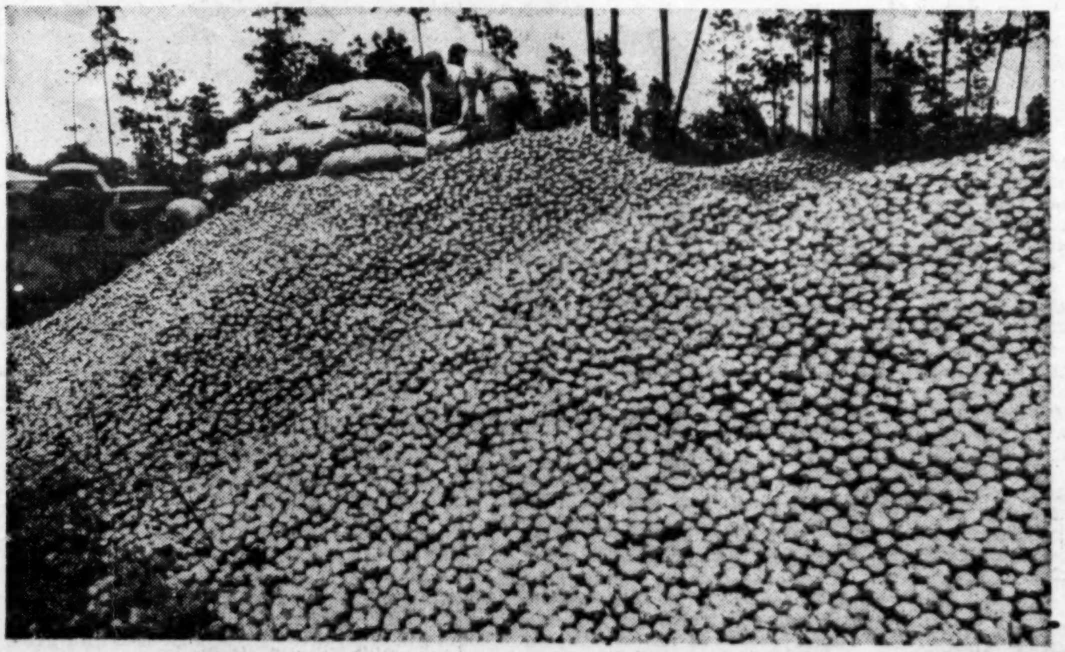
Last week, with the bottom knocked out of the egg market by the present farm law (GUARDIAN, Jan. 9), the system was tried in New York City. It works: farmer and consumer both get a break.

HOT FROM THE HEN: It costs a New Jersey poultryman (with his hens' help) about 40c to produce a dozen eggs. The new Anderson farm act has brought the "market" price down to 38c. But grocery store customers still pay 60c to 70c.

Jersey poultrymen organized in the Federated Egg Producers Cooperative Assn. talked to New York City unions and neighborhood organizations. The big independent local at Macy's department store responded. Farmers sold 550 dozen eggs there the first time, 900 dozen the next. The price: 43c for medium, 49c for large.

Next the Bedford-Stuyvesant Tenants & Consumers Council cooperated. The farmers got space in a candy store and undersold local chains by 20c a dozen.

Last week the farmers went to Harlem and set up shop in the office shared by the Harlem Trade Union Council and the Unemployed Council. Harlemites are accustomed to paying up to 30% more for their goods. Now they got a bargain at 25% below store prices. They bought 350 dozen eggs.



Bounty of the fields: headache for the hungry

Huge surpluses of U. S. crops are profiting office-seekers (who use them for political capital) and speculators (whose pockets get lined). But they don't feed the hungry or bring food prices down much. The mountain of Alabama potatoes (left) was ruined with kerosene to get 50 tons of spuds off the market. The farm woman (right) could use a few spuds in her diet. (Photo at right by Dorothea Lange, from Museum of Modern Art exhibit "Six Women Photographers.")

LABOR

Following is a statement from Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America:

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN, in my opinion, is proving a valuable source of honest facts concerning the labor movement.

The contrast between such factual reporting and what appears in most of our daily newspapers underlines the important role a publication like the GUARDIAN plays in our nation today.

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD

Workers starting to tie a few tin cans to their leaders' tails

By Robert E. Light

"YOU gotta go, Joe," National Maritime Union seamen chanted at President Joseph Curran last week. In face of critical unemployment and possible outlawing of the hiring hall by the Supreme Court, Curran had deserted the membership. He had failed to police contracts; condoned discrimination in the industry and in the union; cooperated with ship owners in blacklisting militant seamen, and weakened on the fight for the hiring hall.

Opposition had mounted in recent months and now pointed to national elections in May. Next month seamen from all ports and all political denominations are to meet in New York to organize a slate to beat the Curran machine. The movement could reasonably expect success.

In the N.Y. local, largest in the union, Curran seemed already beaten. He could control union headquarters and steer membership meetings only with the help of strong-arm supporters and cops.

Wanted: facts to fight with

Not only in NMU but throughout labor, rank and filers were tying tin cans to tails of leadership who put cold war politics first, membership needs last.

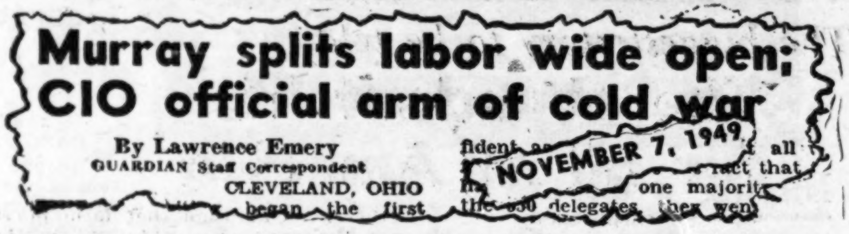
Crying need of the overall situation was some means of passing ammunition to embattled rank and filers in the form of facts—facts on the double deals of labor "statesmen" and fakers in leadership; on the real costs of cold war in terms of speedup, unemployment, no wage increases, Taft-Hartley crackdowns and the hounding of militant leaders as in the deportation cases, the Bridges and Christoffel trials and other "legal" persecutions.

LONE VOICES: Some union papers, such as **UE News**, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers **Union** and others of the dozen CIO unions under official attack, served their memberships well. In unions gone "right," however, rank and filers were left without any source of facts.

Absent, too, was a means of intercommunication among rank and file groups throughout the whole labor movement.

GUARDIAN TO THE RESCUE: For a starter, NATIONAL GUARDIAN prepared last week to fulfill unexpired subscriptions to **March of Labor**, late lamented progressive monthly. In many areas, drives were on to establish the GUARDIAN as progressive labor's national fact sheet and "intercom."

"Facts to fight with" was being reconverted from slogan to reality.



Murray splits labor wide open; CIO official arm of cold war

By Lawrence Emery
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CLEVELAND, OHIO

NOVEMBER 7, 1949

Thanks for the statesmanship

Secretary of State Acheson had good reason to smile and clasp the hand of CIO President Murray. The CIO convention at Cleveland was about to declare itself an open ally of U.S. cold war policy. GUARDIAN headline, reproduced above, tells the story.

TAFT-HARTLEY

Truham or Denman?

LABOR's woes were many, but Taft-Hartley was still the heaviest. For weeks the press and the mine operators have been demanding that President Truman invoke T-H against John L. Lewis' miners. Last week President Truman's NLRB general counsel, Robert Denham, moved for an injunction to force the miners to work without a contract. Quick on their cues, Administration spokesmen carefully pointed out that it was Denham, not Truman, who took the step. Denham or Truman, it was still Taft-Hartley to the miners.

From AFL and CIO "labor statesmen" the miners could expect cold comfort beyond mealy-mouthed messages. They have tacitly dropped T-H as an issue. If Taft-Hartley chains were to be smashed, the impetus would have to come from labor's rank and file. On Jan. 25, as one of a series of rank-and-file actions throughout the country, 2,000 shop stewards and officers of AFL, CIO and independent N.Y. unions were to meet in New York's Hotel Capitol, to spark the fight on Taft-Hartley now.

Want another frozen bang?

What a 4th round would have meant

IN most newspapers a wage raise is a threat. In times of rising prices, to raise pay is "inflationary." When prices fall it is "deflationary."

Strange in this context is the GUARDIAN's position: that what puts more money in a workingman's pocket is always good. On August 8, 1949, the GUARDIAN pointed out that the biggest single factor in keeping our economy healthy, the most important fight for the welfare of the whole country, was labor's fight for a general wage increase.

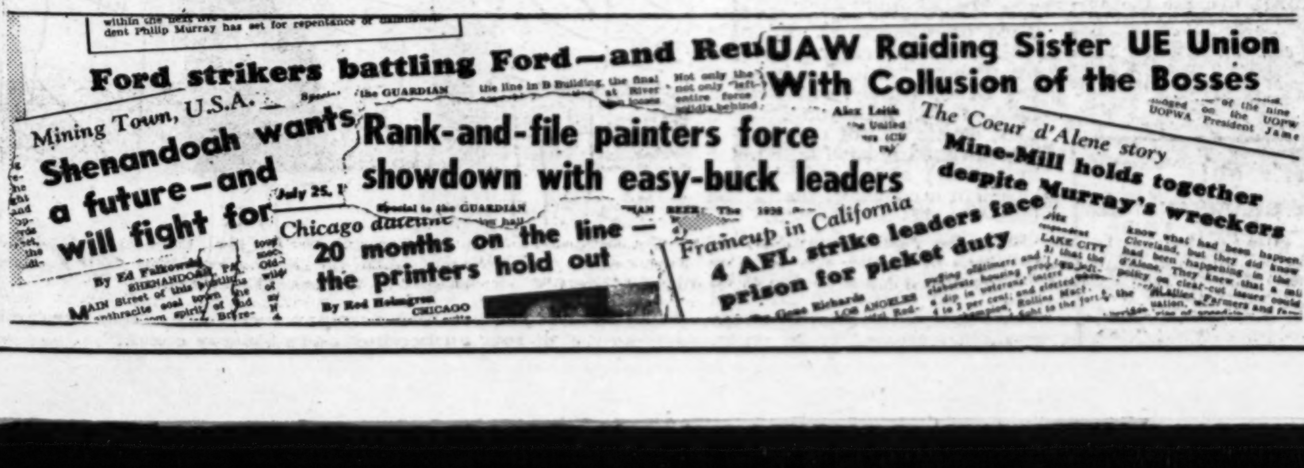
25c OR ELSE: The GUARDIAN made these points:

- An average raise of 25c an hour would pump $19,000,000,000 in purchasing power into our sick economy. Increased buying power means increased demand. This leads to more production and therefore, more jobs; about 4,000,000 new jobs for a 25c raise.
- The raise would have to come not from higher prices but out of profits, which had already far outstripped wage increases. A 25c raise would leave the large corporations piling up profits at precisely the pre-war rate. As production increased, so would their profits.
- If the 25c raise were not forthcoming the country would be headed for a more serious stage of economic crisis.

HOW TO ENSURE SLUMP: Wages were not raised 25c an hour in 1949. Manufacturing wages were boosted only at the rate of $2 a week, and only one-third of the organized workers got that much. (In 1948 most union men got raises; non-union workers benefited, too.) In 1949 labor's right-wing leaders, engaged in fratricidal witch hunts, did not fight for a wage increase, accepted a wage freeze instead.

The GUARDIAN warned that throwing in the towel on the "fourth round" would set the whole nation back. Wages had gone up at a rate of $7.40 week in 1946; $6 a week in 1947; $4 a week in 1948. But prices had risen faster; real wages had dropped 15% from 1945 to 1948. In 1949 a slump came: unemployment averaged 5,000,000; productivity kept increasing and profits continued at peaks but wages froze. (Some corporations even used the small pension and insurance benefits they had given labor as an excuse for raising prices.)

The last time wages were frozen in peacetime was in the decade that closed with a bang in 1929. Want another bang?



Ford strikers battling Ford—and Reu

UAW Raiding Sister UE Union With Collusion of the Bosses

Mining Town, U.S.A.

Shenandoah wants a future—and will fight for

By Ed Falkowski

Rank-and-file painters force showdown with easy-buck leaders

The Coeur d'Alene story

Mine-Mill holds together despite Murray's wreckers

Chicago

20 months on the line—the printers hold out

By Rod Holmgren

Frameup in California

4 AFL strike leaders face prison for picket duty

Superstitious about money?

Many people believe that—

- You can't send greenbacks in in the mail.
- $2 bills are unlucky.
- A check written (or dated) Sunday is illegal.

If you share these superstitions, the GUARDIAN can help you shed them. See if you can pass this test:

> Fold a dollar bill into an envelope addressed to NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. We'll extend your subscription another year, mark your bill paid if you owe one, or enter a 52-week sub for whomever you name.

For the acid test, enclose a $2 bill.

As for Sunday checks, the GUARDIAN's bank will accept all you can write.

And while we're about it, you may help lay low another superstition: That the progressive, labor-minded and peace-conscious people of the U. S. can't build and maintain their own press. You can help blast that myth forever in the current drive to reach a million readers with NATIONAL GUARDIAN

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Buying a paper

Get the truth—at a discount

A DOLLAR a year (52 issues) is the tiny price tag on the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. In addition to getting complete, untainted news in the only newsweekly available at anywhere near that price, many GUARDIAN readers have actually made money on the deal.

That's because **Dollar Stretcher** has been able to save them important sums on their purchases. One New Jersey reader found that out just the other week when she saved $40 on a washing machine by getting it from a discount house she read about here. Some 30 GUARDIAN readers reported saving $22.50 each by learning about a special buy on a well-known make of vacuum cleaner. Almost 200 readers saved $12.50 each on a special offer of long-playing records and LP players. Some 80 readers thanked the GUARDIAN for tipping them off on an almost half-price buy of a famous-brand electric alarm clock.

CHOOSE YOUR SAVINGS: An increasing stream of letters from readers seeking help on buying problems testifies to the solid assistance given by just this one GUARDIAN department. **Dollar Stretcher** has shown how to save on soaps, toiletries and cleansing aids, has provided objective appraisals of such developments as ammoniated tooth powders and anti-histamine cold tablets. It has told readers how to get prefabricated bookcases and wall units at one-third less than the usual cost of these items.

It coaches readers on how to time their buying to take advantage of special sales. During this past Christmas season its recommendations for buying durable toys with enduring play value instead of high-priced novelties were seized upon by information-hungry people all over.

IT'S A BARGAIN! In 1949 the **Dollar Stretcher** buying appraisals covered close to 250 different items for which you spend your hard-earned money. If bound into a book the information given week by week would make a volume that would cost three times as much as a year's GUARDIAN subscription.

Dollar Stretcher also tells you the highlights of current Consumers Union reports, a service you won't find in your daily papers because they don't like frank analyses of merchandise. GUARDIAN, however, is concerned with the health and welfare of its readers' families.

Progressive calendar

New York

"TRIAL OF THE TRAITORS," dramatization of House Un-American Activities Committee in action, written by Jerome Chodorov, presented by N. Y. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Sun., Jan. 29, 8 p.m., Capitol Hotel, 8th Av. and 51st St. Adrian Scott, Lindsey White, O. John Rogge will appear as witnesses. Sam Wanamaker will speak. Tickets: $1 and $1.50. Call: MU 7-2161.

SCOTT NEARING, under the auspices of The Community Church of New York, will speak on "Growth of a Managed Economy," Tues., Jan. 24, 7 p.m.; on "Revolt in Asia" at 8:30 p.m., 40 E. 35th St. Admission 50c.

BROOKLYN THEATRE ARTS Committee presents three concerts: Wed., Jan. 25, 8:30 p.m., The Songs of Paul Robeson and The Music of Ray Lev; Wed., Feb. 8, 8:30 p.m., The Theatre of Angna Enters, The Minstrelsy of Richard Dyer-Bennet; Wed., Mar. 15, 8:30 p.m., Dance Festival—Jane Dudley, Sophie Maslow, William Bales, Hadassah. Series tickets: $3.60 to $9. Call: TR 5-0070, or Mrs. Beatrice Greenberg, IN 2-5260.

AMBIJAN COMMITTEE PRESENTS Charles Recht, narrating his own pictures of Birobijan; Ruth Rubin, singer; Nathan Frankel, who will outline Ambijan national projects, including work in Israel. At the home of Florence Rabinowitch, 156 W. 87th St., Apt. 9A, Fri., Jan. 27, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

•

Worcester, Mass.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONFERENCE, Sun., Jan. 29, 2:30 p.m., 29 Endicott St. Speakers: Oliver Allen, state chairman; Walter O'Brien, state director. Supper and entertainment. Contact: PP, 50 Trumbull St. Worcester 7-0656.

•

Cleveland

OHIO LABOR CONFERENCE for Peace, sponsored by several AFL, CIO and independent union officials, Jan. 28-29. The conference will seek to "unite the laboring men and women in Ohio to battle for peace and security, for a return to the policies of FDR." Contact: Cleveland Labor Committee for Peace, 5173 Euclid Av.

•

St. Paul, Minn.

PP 4th C.D. CONVENTION, Sun., Jan. 29, 1:30 p.m., American House, 444 Rice St., to elect county and district officers, and delegates to National Convention. Keynote speaker: Prof. Curtis MacDougal.

•

Eugene, Ore.

FARM LABOR CONFERENCE on Unemployment and High Cost of Living, Sun., Jan. 29, at Eugene, sponsored by the Coos Bay Progressive Party and leading farmer and labor leaders. Contact Tom Moore, Exec. Director, PP of Oregon, 306 Times Bldg., Portland.

•

Washington, D. C.

SCOTT NEARING, under the auspices of World Events Committee, speaks on "Toward a Managed Economy,' Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m.; on "Asia in Revolt," 9 p.m., Lincoln Congregational Temple, 11th & R Sts., N. W. Admission free.

Like this page? Then let's go!

Dollars to doughnuts you'd like more GUARDIAN stuff on consumers, books, movies, housing—in short, Living. This page is a fair sample of what can be done. We plan to double the space, but it's up to you to get the subscribers who will make the expansion possible. Let the motto fly from the mast: For Better Living, A Million Readers!

George Seldes' new book

So that the people may know

By Fritz Silber

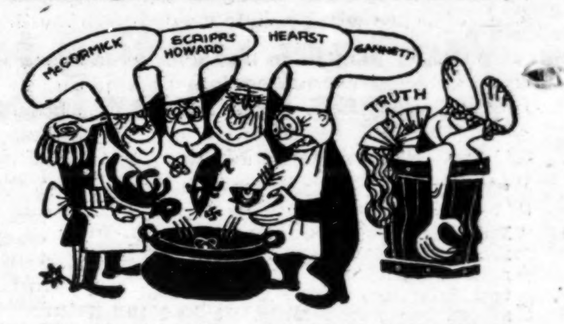
GEORGE Seldes has written 15 books which in one way or another expose the corruption of the kept commercial press of the U.S. In addition, he publishes **In Fact**, which does the same job on a weekly schedule. Big newspapers seldom mention Seldes except to sneer, almost never review him; but in every city room there exists a fraternity of liberal newspaper workers who read Seldes for the lowdown on their bosses.

The latest advance in the Seldes crusade is entitled **The People Don't Know.** It documents the role of the commercial press in whipping up the cold war through methods of distortion, omission and actual invention of news. The press does this for a simple reason: its owners live for the greater glorification of unrestricted profits and cannot tolerate the threat of a world moving leftward to socialization and regulation.

DOCTORS OF FAKERY: Seldes is at his best in presenting a full indictment; the Scripps-Howard - Hearst - Patterson - Gannett - Knight newspaper chains give him plenty of evidence. He provides literally dozens of examples of deliberate faking, concoction of synthetic "interviews," peddling of half-truths and total silence on important developments. All of them are focused on U.S. relations with eastern Europe during and after the war. He demonstrates clearly how the big-money publishers and press associations select, reject and create "news" that beats the drums against socialist nations and misleads millions of Americans.

Here is the story of the famous Dieppe raid and the methods by which publishers used it to delay the second front in Europe. Here too is the story of cynical lying about Tito of Yugoslavia when publishers considered him a Soviet puppet and equally cynical hero-worship when they later decided to use him against Russia. Here one can read an Alsops' fable about Dr. Zdenek Fierlinger of Czechoslovakia being jailed and the futile Czech government efforts to have the untrue story retracted. It all adds up to a venal fraud perpetrated on American readers by press lords who want them to fight socialism.

MORE EXCEPTIONS, PLEASE: Seldes' conclusion is that "we shall have a free—meaning honest—press in America when we have 1,750 editors and publishers of daily newspapers godlike enough to do what the vast majority of people of all faiths and lands have always acknowledged to be their golden rule of life, but never in all history followed."



The hope that 1,750 daily-paper editors and publishers will turn "godlike," when there are not even 17 throughout the land who exhibit any moral standards at all, is a curiously utopian one to come from the realistic Seldes. In stating earlier in the book the reasons why the owners of the press run it as they do, Seldes has given the real answer. A press completely "free" to make unrestricted profits by any means at hand cannot possibly be honest, let alone godlike.

The grim fact is that the commercial press has so corrupted the public that, when a rare **In Fact** or NATIONAL GUARDIAN is offered, a large percentage even of progressives take no action to ensure their survival.

THE PEOPLE DON'T KNOW: THE AMERICAN PRESS AND THE COLD WAR. Gaer Associates, New York, N.Y. 335 pp. $3.

Pots & Pocketbooks

The staff of life

By Charlotte Parks

THE Boston women of revolutionary days who defeated the English tax on imported tea by substituting sassafras tea had the right idea. They had no vote, but they registered their political opinions by action in kitchen and store.

Today the price of bread stays up while flour and lard are down. If a few million women who want to save money and feed their families better were to make their own bread—yes, or hot rolls—the price of bread would tumble down like the walls of Jericho.

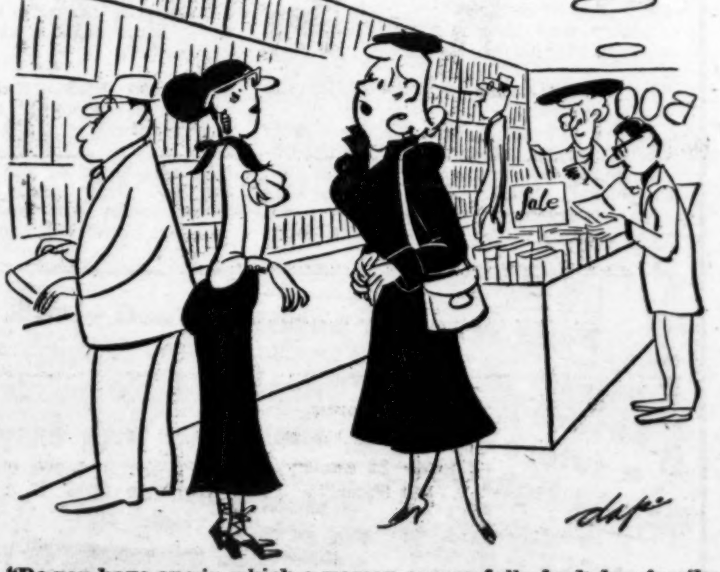
TRY THE EASY WAY: It's easy to bake bread, and the time to make a batch of bread and rolls is short:

2 cups boiling water or hot milk
2 tbsp. lard or margarine
2 tbsp. sugar
2½ tsp. salt
2 yeast cakes dissolved in ½ cup lukewarm water
6 cups flour

Pour hot liquid over the lard, sugar and salt. Cool. Add dissolved yeast. Then flour. Mix thoroughly with spoon. Turn on wax paper. Sprinkle with flour. Knead until smooth by pressing with the heel of the hand, quickly and with a light touch, until you have a nice, elastic ball of dough. Put back in mixing bowl and place in a warm spot, covered with cloth. In a couple of hours the bulk should be doubled. Cut down dough with four or five slashes of knife. Turn on waxed, floured paper, dividing into three parts. Knead and shape two loaves, placing them in slightly greased bread pans. The pans should be about half full.

When the dough rises almost to top of pans, cut down the middle about a quarter-inch with a sharp knife. Brush with melted lard and put in hot oven, about 400 degrees. Reduce flame after 35 minutes and bake another 15 minutes. A straw should come out smooth. Place pans on cake rack to cool. Expose bread to air until cold before putting into bread box.

THEM THAR ROLLS! Break off bits of dough, shape into balls, brush with lard. Let rise until double in bulk. Hot oven 20 minutes. It's a good idea to leave out the rising, wrap the pan of rolls in waxed paper and put in the refrigerator for a day or two. Let them rise just before baking. Ready-for-baking rolls are getting fancy prices in the stores these days.



"Do you have one in which a woman successfully feeds her family of four on her husband's $50 pay check?"

Will the progressive press live?

Our story is told—it's up to you!

By Cedric Belfrage

IN THE summer of 1948 a few newspapermen, weary of dealing in hogwash and hate, decided to start a weekly of their own. They dedicated the NATIONAL GUARDIAN to facts — because, they said, there is a big fight ahead and facts are what people need to fight with.

After 15 months in business, we can say now that we've given our customers — plain, decent folk all over these United States — a bountiful arsenal. Week by week we have crammed our 12 small pages with the facts that were most vital for ordinary Americans seeking a sane, peaceful and abundant world. We have provided a coverage you could not have got elsewhere of the struggle for peace here and everywhere; of the assaults on liberties and living standards which most urgently threaten your future.

On the positive side, we have increasingly sought to give a picture of the America and of the world that can and will be when the fight is won.

S.S. NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The measure of our success is the extent to which we are useful to the struggle of the common people — the wage-earner and consumer, the teacher, the farmer, small business and professional people and members of America's minorities. This issue of the GUARDIAN is our accounting of what we believe the paper has meant and can mean to them.

Many who will receive it are not regular readers. To them it is offered as an inventory of what we are week in and week out. To you who are already in the GUARDIAN family we offer such apologies as are necessary for not bringing your regular quota of news.

WE RECOGNIZE that our crisis is part of a much bigger one — the crisis of progressive America.

We do not blink the fact that the dispersal attack against American progressives has been remarkably successful since the war ended. This attack, using false issues to scare and divide progressives, has also drastically weakened their activity. It has turned many once-active people into clutchers at Fair Deal straws or despairing onlookers at what they feel to be an irresistible catastrophe. Real progressives know that no catastrophe is irresistible.

Future historians will regard this as an odd phenomenon at a time when the people around the world are making more rapid advances than ever before since monkeys came down from trees.

But these facts about your world of today you cannot escape:

- The commercial press so cuts you off from the truth that you hardly know from reading it what is happening to yourself.
- Since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt your real income, your security and your liberties have almost uniformly declined.
- Abundance is here — now — glutting warehouses and caves, actually being destroyed, because your government will not organize its distribution to the needy.
- Your hopes for the peace that comes only with abundance decline further as the "Fair Deal" government prepares to add to its already fabulous war expenditures the production (which of course would force Soviet counter-production) of hydrogen bombs capable of blowing up the earth.

YET consider what it will mean if YOU do only this about it; nothing that requires much effort: just to get a few subs for the GUARDIAN.

This is what it will do: it will forge you into a great army with those like you throughout the land, creating of itself a base for a resurgent progressive movement and party. Such an army can save America from strangulation.

A press medium is the foundation stone without which progressives cannot mobilize and cannot build. Therefore we don't think it's any exaggeration to say that your active response to our crisis appeal will be a yardstick to your political determination.

Nothing can put more heart into progressive America at this critical time than the knowledge that it can maintain, and is maintaining, its own publication. We say "its own," because the GUARDIAN has been from the outset — and will continue to be — a publication that American progressives can freely mold to the pattern best fitting their needs.

So we have presented in these pages the inventory of our first 15 months, in a spirit of deadly seriousness. Not as a plea for the GUARDIAN itself; not as a plea for you yourselves, but as an imperative for all of us.

THE ironic thing in our situation is that the crisis is upon us when our rate of subscription returns is the biggest in our brief history, when there is an obvious reawakening of progressive America, when the need for the GUARDIAN has never been greater.

Progressives are people for whom the facts should speak for themselves. To know the facts should be to act on them. We ask all within reach of this issue of the GUARDIAN to act now—while there is yet time.

have you got 4 friends?

PRINT NAMES street city & zone state

ME ....

1 ....

2 ....

3 ....

4 ....

☐ **$5 enclosed.**
☐ **Bill me for $5.**
☐ **My $1 enclosed. The others say it's O.K. to bill them for $1 each.**

EVERYONE has 4 friends

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newsweekly **needs their help**

THE cause of an independent newsweekly is yours as well as ours. That is why we are asking you to double and redouble your efforts on behalf of the GUARDIAN.

Write in (at left) the names and addresses of four friends. Put $5 in an envelope addressed to us, to cover five one-year subs—including your own sub or renewal.

If the money isn't handy, check the proper box at the bottom of this page and we'll bill you —or each of your friends if they say O. K.

THE EDITORS

National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

The story and the struggle of the 'Appeal to Reason'

Even among some of the GUARDIAN's best friends reason usually recoils when we talk in terms of a million readers, or even a quarter-million.

To those of little faith we recommend a quiet evening with Ray Ginger's remarkable book on Eugene V. Debs, **The Bending Cross,** which contains, scattered through nearly half of its 450-odd pages, the story of **Appeal to Reason,** America's most successful and effective progressive publication.

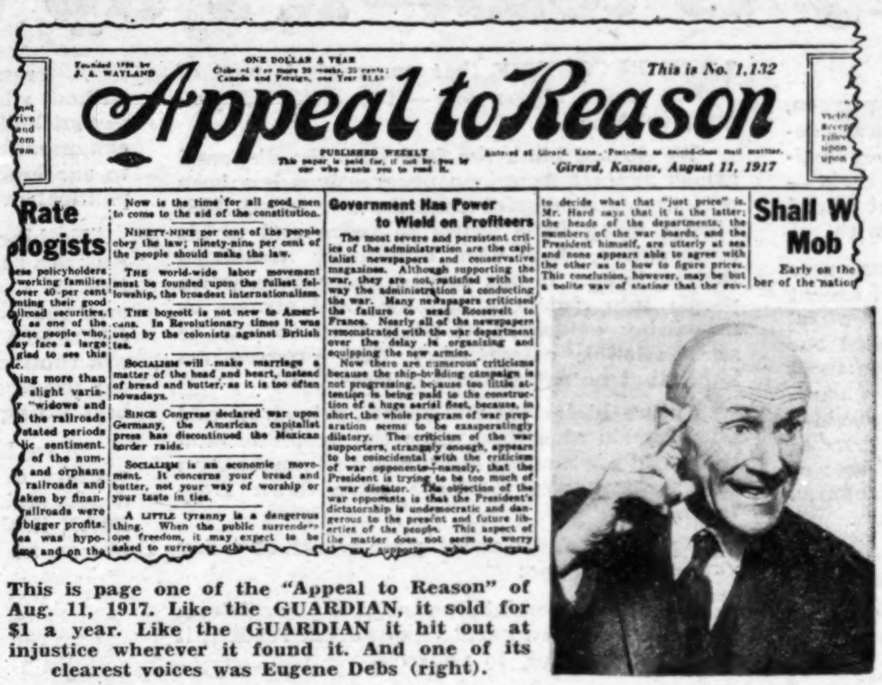
At one point in its 27-year career, **Appeal to Reason** was the most widely read publication in the U. S., with well over a million readers. This was a high point, to be sure, and one not sustained for any long period. But at the peak of its importance it maintained a circulation of more than 400,000 for several years.

HOW IT STARTED: The **Appeal** was founded in 1895 by Julius Wayland, an Indiana Republican who made a small fortune in printing and real estate and then turned to the socialism of Edward Bellamy (**Looking Backward**). Ray Ginger recounts that the Bryan "craze" of 1896, which buried the Populist movement in the Democratic party, almost extinguished the **Appeal** at the start, forcing a temporary suspension. But Wayland made a fresh start in Girard, Kan., and by 1899 had collected 100,000 readers.

ALL THE READERS VOTED: For most of the early years of the **Appeal,** Debs edited his own publications, the **Magazine** of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and later the **Railway Times.** But the **Appeal** followed Debs' early career closely, reprinted his speeches; and when Debs first ran for President in 1900 on the Social Democratic ticket, he got 96,878 votes—or just short of the **Appeal's** circulation.

When Debs ran next in 1904, the **Appeal** had 250,000 readers. Debs got 420,000 votes.

In 1905, Debs joined Big Bill Haywood and other labor leaders in founding the Industrial Workers of the World. In December of that year, the governor of Idaho was killed by a bomb and a miner was arrested on suspicion. He gave the Pinkertons a "confession" that he had been hired to kill the governor by Haywood, Charles Moyer and George Pettibone because the governor had called out the militia against Coeur d'Alene strikers in 1899.



Founded 1895 by J. A. WAYLAND

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR
Clubs of 4 or more 20 weeks, 25 cents; Canada and Foreign, one Year $1.50

Appeal to Reason

This is No. 1,132

PUBLISHED WEEKLY
This paper is paid for, if not by you by one who wants you to read it.

Entered at Girard, Kans., Postoffice as second-class mail matter.

Girard, Kansas, August 11, 1917

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Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the constitution.

NINETY-NINE per cent of the people obey the law; ninety-nine per cent of the people should make the law.

THE world-wide labor movement must be founded upon the fullest fellowship, the broadest internationalism.

THE boycott is not new to Americans. In Revolutionary times it was used by the colonists against British tea.

SOCIALISM will make marriage a matter of the head and heart, instead of bread and butter, as it is too often nowadays.

SINCE Congress declared war upon Germany, the American capitalist press has discontinued the Mexican border raids.

SOCIALISM is an economic movement. It concerns your bread and butter, not your way of worship or your taste in ties.

A LITTLE tyranny is a dangerous thing. When the public surrenders one freedom, it may expect to be asked to surrender others.

Government Has Power to Wield on Profiteers

The most severe and persistent critics of the administration are the capitalist newspapers and conservative magazines. Although supporting the war, they are not satisfied with the way the administration is conducting the war. Many newspapers criticised the failure to send Roosevelt to France. Nearly all of the newspapers remonstrated with the war department over the delay in organizing and equipping the new armies.

Now there are numerous criticisms because the ship-building campaign is not progressing, because too little attention is being paid to the construction of a huge aerial fleet, because, in short, the whole program of war preparation seems to be exasperatingly dilatory. The criticism of the war supporters, strangely enough, appears to be coincidental with the criticism of war opponents—namely, that the President is trying to be too much of a war dictator. The objection of the war opponents is that the President's dictatorship is undemocratic and dangerous to the present and future liberties of the people. This aspect of the matter does not seem to worry

to decide what that "just price" is. Mr. Hard says that it is the latter; the heads of the departments, the members of the war boards, and the President himself, are utterly at sea and none appears able to agree with the other as to how to figure prices. This conclusion, however, may be but a polite way of stating that the gov-

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ber of the nation

This is page one of the "Appeal to Reason" of Aug. 11, 1917. Like the GUARDIAN, it sold for $1 a year. Like the GUARDIAN it hit out at injustice wherever it found it. And one of its clearest voices was Eugene Debs (right).

SOME FIERY STUFF: Debs, recalling the Chicago Haymarket frameup a decade earlier, wrote a protest and sent it to **Appeal to Reason.** It was so inflammatory that the **Appeal's** editor hesitated to publish it. Wayland looked the text over and commented:

"The only question I want you to settle in your mind before acting is: will it work to the best interests of socialism?"

The article ran under the headline "AROUSE, YE SLAVES!" and warned the authorities that "if they attempt to murder Moyer, Haywood and their brothers, a million revolutionaries at least will meet them with guns."

A MILLION READERS: From then on. Debs wrote weekly in the **Appeal** on the case. At the height of public excitement the **Appeal** surpassed 1,000,000 circulation and for one single issue, Ray Ginger recounts, it required "ten barrels of ink, six carloads of newsprint, three thousand mailbags and ten U. S. mail cars."

The prosecution of the IWW leaders dragged on through 1906 into 1907. By the time the trial started in May, 1907, Debs had drawn blood from no less an opponent than President Theodore Roosevelt, whose public statements judged Debs guilty along with Haywood and Moyer.

But out in a Boise courtroom, a jury thought otherwise. The first verdict came in on Haywood: "Not Guilty." Acquittals for the others followed.

CIRCULATION BUILDER: But the **Appeal** did not come through the fight unscathed. Postal authorities got indictments against Debs and editor Fred Warren for sending "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening" material through the mail. Warren, tried first in 1909, was sentenced to six months in jail plus a $5,000 fine.

An appeal was taken and Debs and Warren converted the contest into a circulation builder. When they started on tour, the **Appeal's** circulation was 368,791. Before they had finished, the average for the year was over 500,000.

THE UNION LABEL: Warren's conviction, however, was upheld, which provided for another lecture tour. The **Appeal's** circulation at the end of 1910 was 472,000. President Taft sought to quiet matters by striking out the six-month sentence, reducing the fine to $100 and sending Warren a pardon.

Warren looked the pardon over and returned it to Taft with a demand for a union label on it, along with the announcement that he would pay the $100 fine in **Appeal** subscription cards. Taft bowed out of the argument and Warren never paid the fine.

ONE LAST SHOT: The **Appeal,** with Debs as a contributing editor at $100 a week, went on to fight the McNamara dynamiting frameup in 1911, and sparkplugged the Debs Presidential campaign of 1912, in which Debs rolled up 900,000 votes. The Taft administration, retiring for the victorious Woodrow Wilson, took a parting shot at **Appeal to Reason.**

A new set of indictments were obtained against Debs, Warren and publisher Wayland for a series of muckraking articles on Leavenworth prison. The indictments were never pressed. But concurrently a Mann Act frameup began to take shape against 58-year-old Wayland. Wayland considered the situation, went home one night and blew his brains out.

NO TEARS OF GRIEF: In his well-thumbed copy of Bellamy's **Looking Backward,** he stuck a note:

"The struggle under the capitalist system isn't worth the effort. Let it pass."

Debs, heart-broken over Wayland's suicide, resigned his editorship. A colleague wired Wayland's son:

"We shed no tears of grief; grief is for the naked lives of those who have made the world no better."

The **Appeal** went on, with one World War I interruption, folding in 1922. But until its founder was hounded to death, the **Appeal** gave the American socialists, populists and progressives just about the greatest run anybody ever got for his money in the press.

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Ray Ginger's biography of Eugene Debs, "The Bending Cross," published by Rutgers University Press at $5, is a Book Find Club selection, available to members for $1.65. Book Find is at 401 Broadway, N. Y. 7, N. Y.

Jennings Perry

A lantern in the street of confusion

OF making newspapers there is no end, I hope. Or if there should be an end of it, I should not want to see it. For newspapers are like people—essentially good.

Of newspapers we say commonly this one is "honest" or that one is "dishonest." What we mean is that one is fortunate and one is ill-used. I have helped to make several, as street man and as editor; and of these, for some I have felt pity, and for some mixed admiration, and for a very few high admiration. But for all I have had affection and respect, as for personalities **capable** of good will and good deeds.

WE ask our press primarily to be honest, to be our own eyes and ears. Most of us who are or have been newspapermen feel toward the newspapers we have known much as Gautier's Albert, in **Mademoiselle de Maupin,** felt toward the women he had known, of whom he had demanded only beauty: "I have loved them for what they have had of excellence, overlooking the rest."

It is nevertheless "a sad and painful thing" for a man to have "to suppress half of his mistress by mentally amputating what she has of ugliness and mediocrity, while holding his gaze on that which she may possess of good looks."

Asking honesty above all, we find it hard to discern in the American press of our day either the reportorial objectivity or the fairness of comment with which the ideal of a "free and unfettered" press is furnished. We find instead a press without aplomb and largely without scruples; an anxious and overbearing press, so enlisted in the cold war as to be its constant trumpet, grossly exaggerating every event or rumor which may make friction among the peoples of the earth, and callously deriding every pacific gesture which emanates either from the "enemy without" or from the reason or conscience of the American people.

IT is a "sad and painful thing" that we have had to learn to discount what we read in our newspapers by the biases our newspapers have revealed. It is an incongruous thing that the press, which is supposed to be the eyes and ears of the American people, demonstrably has not seen eye to eye with the people in their political and social concerns for the past 20 years. and is deaf to all but the prompting of the privileged interests which control its voice—if not its thinking.

I say our press deserves better than it gets, that our newspapers, left to the men who actually make them, would manifest the common moralities, aspirations and judgment. I have seen men weep for the New York **World**—and now for the **Sun**—who were not weeping for their jobs but for newspapers with whose faces they were familiar, whose capacities for greatness—realized—they knew. The presses themselves, the newsprint which threaded them, and the hearts of the staff who sent up the words to be printed were essentially good.

THAT is why in our unending quest for honest newspapers we must treasure the few that remain to us whose freedom is recognizable by the proof of forthrightness; whose interests are as broad as the prime interests of humanity; whose solicitude for the peace, the understanding, the rights and the well-being of all peoples is genuine, active and unabashable. These are—to the extent that their information is spread and their influence felt—antidotal to the fears, suspicions, prejudices and hysterias rolled upon the people in so dismal a flood by the captive prints which no longer dare to have minds of their own.

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN is of this fortunate few—a lantern in the street of confusion. Lift it, and help light the way before.

RAY C THOMAS 1-50
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SALEM ORE